The Mona Effect: Regeneration in the Dark

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Statements and Declarations

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Miriam McGarry, February 2018

Abstract

Since the opening of the Museum of Old and New Art (Mona) in Tasmania, the museum's impact has been compared with the Bilbao Effect, a culture-led urban regeneration project. By exploring the museum's evolving relationship with an already strong cultural economy in Hobart, this thesis reconsiders and destabilises Mona's association to the iconic flagship regeneration model. After establishing how the policy-led Bilbao Effect model differs from the privately initiated 'Mona Effect', I then develop an account of how Mona became embedded and entangled in the cultural economy of Hobart.

The annual Dark Mofo mid-winter festivals serve as primary case studies for examining the museum's impact. Through qualitative, ethnographic and place-based methods, this thesis examines how the mid-winter festivals translate the Mona brand from the museum, and inscribe Mona's ethos across the city during a fortnight of 'large-scale public art, food, music, film, light and noise' (Dark Mofo, 2013a: n.p.).

Standard policy analysis in the field of culture-led urban regeneration has largely evaluated success through an economic paradigm, and been concerned with top-down policy interventions. Here, I interrogate the festival's explicit city activation agenda, and examine how the co-constitutive relationship between festival and city is enabled through the multiple actors who are active participants in supporting and facilitating the impact of Dark Mofo.

Through an increasing interaction with the spatial and social landscape of the city, I demonstrate how Mona has become aligned with policy and governance. Finally, I explore the relationship between Mona and the Macquarie Point brownfield development, and the extent to which it veers towards the Bilbao model.

In this thesis I contribute to existing literatures and knowledge by expanding methodological approaches for measuring impacts of urban cultural activity. I also promote a more nuanced approach to 'Effect' based research, informed by place specificity and ethnographic engagement. I argue that research methodologies which extend beyond econometric measures can account for cultural impacts, and furthermore, can promote the development of sustainable urban regeneration projects and cultural policy in the future.

I find that while Mona does not align with the policy-transfer model of arts-led urban regeneration, the museum's evolving presence in the city and relationships with governance bodies has shifted towards a GLAMUR (Plaza, 2008) model of operating. However, I argue that Mona's embedded and place-specific engagement with the city presents an opportunity

to re-imagine what a cultural economy in Hobart could look like into the future, beyond the limitations of the Bilbao Effect model.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is part of a broader ARC-funded linkage investigation 'Creating the Bilbao Effect: Mona and the Social and Cultural Coordinates of Urban Regeneration through Arts Tourism'. As a linkage project, my research would not have been possible without the generous time, resources and insights of the partner organisations: Mona, The Department of State Growth, Arts Tasmania, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Tourism Tasmania, Port Arthur Historic Site, Ten Days on the Island, City of Hobart and the Glenorchy City Council.

I am grateful to everyone who agreed to be interviewed as part of this research, for generously sharing their experiences and allowing their knowledge to become part of my project. This gratitude is also extended to Dark Mofo, particularly Leigh and Kate, for allowing me into the office over the most stressful festival period, and to the Dark Mofo team for welcoming me unquestioningly.

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Image 1: *Spectra* (2013) by Ryoji Ikeda in Hobart as part of the Dark Mofo festival. Photo: Dallas Stott. (ABC, 2013).

As dusk fell on the 14th June, 2013, the skies of Hobart were pierced with a 15km tower of light. In front of Hobart's Cenotaph, forty-nine xenon search lights set in a seven-by-seven grid format were switched on and beamed up into the dark. In the winter drizzle, crowds huddled in winter jackets and beanies. Children passed their hands through the light, and watched rainbows dance in the misty rain. The column of light acted as an orientating beacon for both visitors and residents, and reimagined the skyline of Hobart. The launch of this work, *Spectra* (2013) by Japanese artist Ryoji Ikeda, marked the opening of the inaugural Dark Mofo festival - a mid-winter festival which celebrates the dark through a fortnight of 'large-scale public art, food, music, light and noise' (Dark Mofo, 2013a: n.p.).

The Dark Mofo festival is run by The Museum of Old and New Art (Mona),[1] the largest privately owned museum in the Southern Hemisphere. Mona was established in 2011 by David Walsh, a Tasmanian-raised professional gambler, who made his fortune in high-

[1] The museum acronym is referred to as both Mona and MONA in this thesis. I largely adhere to the style conventions of the museum as per their printed material, website and communications in using 'Mona'- but retain fidelity to direct quotes from sources where 'MONA' is used. Where referring to the festivals and ferry, I use the specific capitalisations of the Mona brand: Dark Mofo, MONA FOMA and Mona Roma.

stakes gambling with international syndicates. Since the opening, the museum has been praised as 'Tasmania's existential if not economic salvation' (Cica, 2013: 10), and garnered comparisons with the Guggenheim Museum in the Spanish city of Bilbao, where the reported urban rejuvenation sparked by the museum generated the shorthand phrase the 'Bilbao Effect'.

This thesis is part of a broader ARC-funded investigation 'Creating the Bilbao Effect: Mona and the Social and Cultural Coordinates of Urban Regeneration through Arts Tourism' (Franklin et al., 2012). My research examines the effect of Mona's arrival on the city of Hobart, and how this impact can be measured and assessed. I specifically engage with the Dark Mofo festival as a primary mechanism for Mona's engagement with Hobart, and trace the evolution of this winter solstice celebration, and its subsequent effects on the city. I explore how Mona and Dark Mofo became embedded in local networks of activity, and how through encouraging a model of distributed agency, the festival and museum have integrated with, and stimulated, the cultural economy of Hobart. I examine shifts in cultural policy and urban regeneration strategies in Hobart since Mona's arrival, and situate these findings against an international literature of culture-led urban regeneration.

1.1 Situating Mona and Dark Mofo

The opening of Mona immediately attracted both national and international attention, including descriptions such as the 'Getty of the Antipodies' and the 'Bilbao of the south' (Lohrey, 2010). The museum is located in the suburb of Berriedale in Greater Hobart, twelve kilometers north of Hobart. The site was purchased by David Walsh in 1995 from the Alcorso family, entrepreneurs who had developed a vineyard onsite in 1958. Walsh re-developed the vineyard for Moorilla wines, and created the Moorilla Museum of Antiquities (1999) to display his personal collection and for use as a function venue. In 2007, as Walsh continued to acquire new works (including outbidding the National Gallery of Victoria for *The Bar* [1954] by John Brack), the antiquities museum could no longer house his collection, and Walsh felt that the conventional glass cabinet displays failed to engage visitors (Franklin, 2014). The museum of antiquities closed, and a $75 million development commenced on the site.

In January 2011 the Museum of Old and New Art (Mona) opened to the public, displaying Walsh's private collection of over 2210 antiquities and artworks, valued at over $100 million (Denholm, 2011). The museum is largely subterranean, and set into the

sandstone cliff-edge of the Derwent River. Franklin (2014) has outlined how the museum is distinctive for its non-conformist attitude, exemplified by the lack of wall-mounted descriptions of art works, refusal of chronological and taxonomic ordering, and its antipathy to didacticism. A specially designed O-device (resembling an iPod) which uses GPS technology is provided to all visitors and supplies a range of information from a number of unusual perspectives and voices, containing irreverent descriptions and recorded interviews with artists. The initial exhibition 'Monaisms' was focused upon the dual themes of sex and death, and deliberately courted controversy from the media and public audiences (Franklin, 2014).

Beyond the museum, the Mona brand offers a restaurant, café, wine bar, bookshop, accommodation, brewery, vineyard, summer and winter festivals, market, kitchen garden project, and ferry, bus and helicopter transport. In 2009, prior to the museum's opening, a summer festival called MONA FOMA (an acronym for Museum of Old and New Art: Festival of Art and Music) was held on the Mona site, curated by Brian Richie (bassist of American folk punk band The Violent Femmes). This event developed into an annual music festival, and in 2013 Mona launched a winter solstice festival, Dark Mofo.

Image 2: Mona - external view of the museum as seen from the Derwent River. Photo: Mona. (Salmon, 2016).

1.2 Hobart Geography and Governance

To situate the 'Mona Effect', I here briefly introduce the historic, political and geographic context in which my research is located. As my research draws upon place-based methods, this contextual grounding aligns with the methodological frameworks employed, as well as providing necessary background information. As observed by Franklin (2013), David Walsh's own Tasmanian identity has been reported in the media as inextricably tied into the Mona narrative, and as I describe in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, Dark Mofo draws upon the particularities of place in their branding, programs and overall festival identity.

Tasmania and Hobart have been shaped by indigenous, migratory and colonial histories, experiences, and continuing cultures. Hobart is the southernmost capital city of Australia, located on Muwinina country on the island state of Tasmania. It was founded as a penal colony in 1803 and is the second oldest city of Australia. The Hobart local government area has a population of 50 439 (ABS, 2016a), and the municipality of Glenorchy where Mona is situated, has a population of 46 253 (ABS, 2016b). Both Glenorchy and Hobart are part of the Greater Hobart Area, with an approximate population of 222 356 (ABS, 2016c).

Work by Booth et al. (2017) has examined the relationship between Mona and its physical location in the municipality of Glenorchy, exploring the potential of a museum as a democratising force in an area identified as the 8th most disadvantaged of 29 local government areas in the state (Glenorchy City Council, 2016). While Glenorchy is developing in response to Mona, my research considers the Mona Effect within the Hobart municipality.

Mona has strong relationships with the City of Hobart[2] and Department of State Growth (as well as the Glenorchy City Council and other government bodies). The museum is a private institution which sits outside government structures; however, this thesis examines the increasing interconnections between the museum and both local council and state government bodies. Since Dark Mofo's inaugural 2013 festival, a state election was held (2014) which resulted in a transition from Labour to Liberal government.[3] In Chapter 4, I

[2] In 2013, the Hobart City Council (HCC) changed its name to the City of Hobart (CoH). I use the name City of Hobart throughout, however when referring to documents published pre-2013 I cite the document as it was published at the time.

[3] In the 2011-2014 period, Premier Lara Giddings was the Minister of the Arts. From May 2014-2016, Vanessa Goodwin held the position of Minister of the Arts, under Premier Will Hodgman. In 2017, Elise Archer was announced as the Minister of the Arts, following the announcement of Goodwin's resignation from Parliament.

outline transitions from 2012 to 2017 by the state government to undertake significant cultural, economic, tourism and events policy updates which directly address, and aim to capitalise upon, Mona's arrival and impact.

To place this research in context, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of Hobart's geography, particularly in comparison the case of the Guggenheim Bilbao. The Tasmanian port city sits on the edge of the Derwent River against the backdrop of kunyani/Mt Wellington. The urban character of Hobart is informed by the topography of the deep river port and overseeing mountain, and is derived from both 'containment' (limited by high ground and mountain) and 'release' (across the water plane of the harbour) (Woolley, 2009: 31). The deep water port is an ideal destination for international cruise ships, with a visitor survey revealing 73 850 cruise ship visitors to Hobart in 2012-13 (Tourism Tasmania, 2013b).[4] Cruise ships have traditionally formed a major source of tourism for the state, with an estimated annual benefit to the local economy of $32 million (Rockliff, 2016).

The physical isolation of Mona and of the island state of Tasmania is frequently cited in media coverage. Leighton and Lehman (2011) have observed how media descriptions emphasise the isolation of the museum, in requiring a journey outside of Hobart, and in being located multiple flights and time zones away from the art centres of Europe and the American north. Mona visitors travel from Hobart using different modes of transport including the Mona Roma ferry on the river Derwent and Mona mini-bus; or via independent options provided by the intercity cycleway, private car or taxi, or the public bus service.[5] A reviewer from the New York Times reported his experience of traveling on the Mona Roma as a direct extension of Mona, explaining that the 'high powered catamaran that glides from the city's port down the river Derwent to the museum entrance' provided 'the first glimmer of the museum' (Perlez, 2015). Franklin has described the boat journey between Hobart and the museum as a 'pre-liminal choreography' where the 'choreography of detachment and ambiguity get ramped up' (Franklin, 2014: 278).

The physical, cultural and historical landscape of Tasmania has also been cited as influencing the design and atmosphere of Mona's brand, aesthetic and museum spaces

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The City of Hobart (CoH) which governs the municipality of Hobart similarly underwent a shift in leadership, with the mayoral position held by Damon Thomas (2011-2014) and Sue Hickey (2014-current).

[4] More recent data from Tourism Tasmania does not detail the total number of cruise ship visitors, but reports the total number of cruise ship visitor days as 236 794 in the 2016-2017 cruise ship period (up 45% from the 2015-2016 period). (Tourism Tasmania, 2017).

[5] The Metro bus company lists Mona as one of the attractions of their 'how to get there' instructions page (Metro, n.d.).

(Franklin, 2014). The 'traumascape' (Tumarkin, 2004: 2005) of Tasmania's penal colony, gothic history and the Black Wars between British colonist and indigenous Tasmanians (Clements, 2014), have been suggested as resonating with Mona's own 'sense of place' in interpreting the architecture and choreography of the museum (Crane, 2015; Verghis, 2013; Fitzgibbon, 2012; Perlez, 2015 and Harmon, 2016). While this proposed relationship between place history and Mona has been critiqued as relying upon an essentialist reading of 'the Tasmanian gothic' (Booth, pers. comm. 6 July, 2015), the prevalence of these narratives in cultural critique and journalistic representations of Mona and the Mona Effect demonstrates the significance of locality and place to both Tasmania and the museum's identity and associated imaginaries.

As outlined in Franklin's (2014) exploration of the genesis of the museum, both locality and international reach were built into the initial vision for Mona. In 2007, a brief of five major objectives for the museum was prepared, one of which aimed to 'create a museum that is a contradiction to the location: loud, fast, happening, with the isolated, peaceful, quiet nature of Moorilla' (Franklin, 2014: 220). My research is informed by recognising the connection between local networks and international flows, which has assisted Mona's impact and integration with Hobart's cultural economy. I explore the relationship between the 'exterior community engagement' Mona has stimulated, and the museum's desire to develop 'relevance on an international level' (Franklin, 2014: 221).

1.3 Research Overview

In 2011, Walsh's $170 million museum contribution was described as 'set to single-handedly rejuvenate Tasmania's battered "brand" and revitalise tourism' (Neales, 2011: 25). The museum has ranked as Tasmania's second biggest tourist destination (behind the Salamanca Markets) since 2012 (Tourism Tasmania 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015, 2016)[6]. In 2016 the museum attracted 338 358 visitors, accounting for 27 per cent of all visitors to the state. Tourists who visited Mona in 2016 spent $760 million during their time in Tasmania (Tourism Tasmania, 2016). Mona has been credited for altering the State of Tasmania, and media reports and cultural critique have generated direct comparisons with the narrative of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. A year after Mona's opening, The Australian reported, 'the

[6] From July 2011, the Tourism Tasmania Tasmanian Visitor Survey (TVS) was updated to include Mona as a major attraction in the state. Since then, Tourism Tasmania has produced a 'Mona Visitor Profile' document based upon collected data.

museum has single-handedly put Hobart on the map, transforming the city's image from sleepy backwater to playground for the hip and cultured. These days, everyone talks about the "Mona effect"' (Coslovich, 2012).

In this research I interrogate the narrative and meaning of the 'Mona Effect', and explore how the impact of Mona and Dark Mofo can be articulated. Franklin's (2014) work on the genesis of the museum has established the exceptionalism of David Walsh as a private philanthropist, the carnivalesque atmosphere and emphasis on the senses promoted by the museum and festivals, the significance of alternative branding and marketing approaches to Mona's success, and the innovation of displaying artworks in the subterranean bunker space without wall labelling (Franklin, 2014). Research by both Conroy (2013) and Ryan (2016) echoes Franklin's findings regarding the non-conformist approach of the gallery, highlighting that 'this is not your regular gallery space' (Ryan, 2016: 2).

As Mona's impact on the city of Hobart has developed through the Dark Mofo festivals, I identify the opportunity to extend this research beyond the museum and follow Debord's claim that 'what alters the way we see the streets is more important than what alters the way we see paintings' (1957: 49). This research extends upon Conroy's work, which specifically focused on Dark Mofo, arguing that the festival provided 'a useful case study of a potential Bilbao Effect as it aimed to create a cultural (and economic) event for Tasmania's otherwise quiet winter season' (Conroy, 2013: iv). Utilising a cultural economy approach, I look outside the museum and examine the impact of Mona in the City of Hobart. This rationale recognises the pre-established interconnected and embedded nature of Mona in Tasmania, where a fertile cultural environment of multiple actors has enabled the museum's impact and facilitated a heightened platform for the local cultural industry.

Given the recent arrival of Mona to Tasmania, this thesis will be one of the first in-depth studies into the relationship between the internationally renown museum, the Dark Mofo festivals, and Hobart. It seeks to make an original contribution to knowledge by introducing the concepts of the Bilbao Effect and culture-led urban regeneration to a Tasmanian context, in examining the extent to which Mona has stimulated – and been integrated with - the pre-existing cultural ecology of the city. Additionally, this thesis aims to extend the scholarship in the field of culture-led urban regeneration, to promote an ethnographic and place-based methodological approach. In moving beyond an economic paradigm which examines 'effects' through a top-down policy interventions, I interrogate the festival's explicit city activation agenda, and examine how the co-constitutive relationship between festival and city is enabled through the multiple actors who are active participants in

supporting, enabling and facilitating the impact of Dark Mofo. I assert that through a cultural economy approach, a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of impact and effect can be explored.

1.4 Research Rationalle

This thesis is located within a pre-established ARC linkage project, titled 'Creating the Bilbao Effect: Mona and the Social and Cultural Coordinates of Urban Regeneration Through Arts Tourism' (Franklin et al., 2012). The project has established partnerships through a collaborative linkage arrangement with Mona, the Department of State Growth (previously Development Tourism and the Arts [DEDTA]), Arts Tasmania (Arts Tas), the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (TMAG), Tourism Tasmania, Port Arthur Historic Site, Ten Days on the Island (Ten Days), the City of Hobart (CoH: previously Hobart City Council [HCC]) and the Glenorchy City Council (GCC). My candidature is financially supported by ARC funding, as well as in-kind and financial support from the CoH, GCC, Mona and the Department of State Growth.

Initially, my broad research question was drawn from the ARC grant proposal (Franklin et al., 2012), which outlined four key research questions and investigations into Mona's impacts and effect.[7] The project description also outlined four investigations into Mona's impacts and effects[8] which guided my research agenda. Here I am chiefly engaged in

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[7] The project had four key research questions (of which my research was primarily engaged with ii):

i. 'What new kinds of expectation, perception and activities does MONA produce among cultural tourists from local, interstate and international origins?
ii. How has MONA stimulated arts and creative industries production - in particular, are there increases in the numbers and activities of artists and creative businesses, are there clustering or relocation effects, and has MONA provoked more innovative kinds of cultural production?
iii. How has MONA stimulated the touristic landscape of Hobart and Tasmania in terms of content, forms of engagement, changing its place image through branding and marketing?
iv. How does MONA impact on local culture (self-perception, aspirations, lifestyle), both via the direct experience of visiting the gallery and by related shifts in local cultural life? This will involve in-depth interviews in Glenorchy' (Franklin et al., 2012: 5).

[8] Additionally, the four research aims outlined in the project overview were:

i. 'To situate MONA within a wider museological and curatorial shift from pedagogy and chronology to experience and theatricality.
ii. To determine what kind of publics are being attracted to MONA, and to critically analyse what kinds of experience the gallery provides, drawing on conceptual models from cultural tourism to address its twin themes of sex and death, its creation of liminal spaces and its ritualised choreography of visitor engagement.
iii. To probe MONA's wider economic, social and cultural impact and to assess its potential for growth.
iv. Based on these findings, to develop a strategic framework within which to organise city and state marketing, visitor experience (cultural and other events and facilities), arts and creative industry development, and other major infrastructural projects. In sum, to determine how governance structures and communities might sustainably adapt the Bilbao effect to their specific

conducting ‘a study of Mona’s impact on urban regeneration with special emphasis on its arts and creative industries’ (Franklin et al., 2012: 10). As my candidature proceeded, research questions were sharpened by my increased understanding of the cultural economy of Hobart and through engaging with literature in the field, but also, most formatively, through observational and participatory fieldwork. My research questions and qualitative methodological framework developed concurrently and iteratively, each informing the other.

This ‘way of working’ (Ingold, 2014: 390) is discussed below, as I describe the process of developing a methodological approach. The following research themes and aims emerged as relevant avenues of enquiry:

1. To establish a sociological understanding of Mona’s impact in relation to the city of Hobart.
2. To contribute to wider scholarship of urban regeneration, in relation to specificities of place and the significance of local embeddedness through qualitative research methods.
3. To assess the impact of Mona on the cultural economy of the city.

These aims assisted in the framing of my research approach, and solidified into research questions, as detailed in Chapter 3.

1.5 Summary of Chapters

Chapter Two presents an overview of the relevant literature, focusing on the internationally replicated model of the Bilbao Effect. In exploring how the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao has been researched and reported, I problematise directly comparing the Mona experience with the oft-cited Bilbao transformation. While there are superficial similarities such as the pilgrimage to a riverside museum in a post-industrial area, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao was part of a sweeping government initiated suite of policies with the primary goal of economic stimulation to a depressed region. In contrast, Mona is a

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requirements. How, then, can a collaborative understanding of the experience and operation of a radically new museum be enrolled into strategies to address a distributed decline in tourism, a vision to create urban regeneration through arts industries and a determination to extend art into everyday life in Tasmania?’ (Franklin et al., 2012: 6).

privately funded museum which was not initially connected to government funding or policy proposals. I identify elements in the Bilbao Effect narrative which offer a lens for viewing Mona's impacts in the city of Hobart, and highlight studies which have examined the extent to which cultural institutions are 'embedded' in their local cultural economy. I contend that a nuanced account of the impact of Mona and Dark Mofo can be articulated through ethnographic and place-based research methods, which extend beyond the normatively applied econometric assessment of cultural value in respect to the building of flagship art museums. Chapter Three then follows from these theoretical frameworks to describe the development of my research methods.

Chapter Three is divided into two sections: the first is an examination of established research methodologies for assessing culture and cultural impact, and the second describes how I applied research methods to the field of inquiry. I explore potential methodological approaches, and the benefits and limitations of an econometric approach. I assert the relevance of an ethnographic and place-based methodology for this Hobart study, as a means to uncover and present a nuanced account of Mona's engagement with the city of Hobart. The chapter then outlines the application of these research methods, through interviews, participant observation, content analysis of events and documents, and seminar attendance.

Chapters Four and Five provide evidence and accounts of the pre-conditions which have facilitated Mona's impact. Chapter Four details the evolution of Dark Mofo, and establishes the winter solstice festival as both the primary site of enquiry and the primary instrument by which Mona has integrated with and stimulated the cultural economy of the city. Chapter Five identifies how Dark Mofo has increasingly been aligned with public policy, funding and economic growth strategies in the city, and how it has provided an extended exhibitionary platform for pre-existing cultural activity. The co-constitutive relationship between festival and city is demonstrated through the multiple actors who are active participants in supporting, enabling, extending and facilitating the impact of Dark Mofo. This thesis contends that through the distributed agency of cultural activity supported by the cultural economy, the conventional shortcomings of an episodic seasonal festival economy are diminished. By being embedded in Hobart's cultural ecology, Dark Mofo is able to support the daily making and re-making of local identity and sense of place, beyond the winter festival fortnight. This chapter also provides an account of Dark Mofo's engagement with the waterfront precinct, Macquarie Point, and highlights the relationship between urban regeneration and cultural activity.

Where Chapter Four and Five presented a broad account of the embryonic impacts of Mona's arrival, Chapter Six focuses on the role of food and beverages in connecting Dark Mofo with the cultural economy of the city. This descriptive chapter initially establishes Mona's relationship with gastronomy and viticulture, before tracing how the relationship between food and cultural activity extends beyond the museum to be incorporated in Dark Mofo. I examine how food and culture are connected in Mona's branding, and how initiatives such as the Mona Markets, Winter Feast and Paint the Town Red enable a distributed agency model, which encourages sustained activity without direct support from or connection with Mona. I particularly highlight the significance of personal friendships, social networks, and community connections in facilitating the success of both individual enterprises and Dark Mofo's engagement in the city. Through these accounts, I contend that Dark Mofo has assisted in increasing capacity and lowering barriers of entry for producers.

Chapter Seven builds upon the evidence of Dark Mofo's embeddedness in the city, and expands upon the role of food and beverage activity as part of city activation strategies, through initiatives such as the Whisky Tours and Restaurant Australia. I assert that Dark Mofo has encouraged city-based activity which extends beyond the festival timeframe and helps sustain a robust cultural economy throughout the year. In examining how these developments in gastronomy and night-time activity in Hobart have altered local and visitor socio-spatial experiences, I identify the loosening of regulatory frameworks as central to the success of Dark Mofo's city based activity. Chapters Six and Seven are connected through my assertion that culture in the city, and Mona's interaction with it, has been partly facilitated and enlivened by food culture.

Chapter Eight continues to explore how Dark Mofo has stimulated ongoing cultural practices in the city, through initiatives which sit outside government policy or funding. The chapter outlines the development of new artist-run spaces and non-commercial projects, which have connections with Dark Mofo but exist independently of the festival structure, funding and resources. Grassroots projects and small-scale cultural projects frequently sit outside research into culture-led urban regeneration, and the inclusion of these initiatives in my thesis is informed by my methodology, which aims to describe the nuanced and multi-layered cultural economy of the city and how Dark Mofo and Mona is engaged with it.

In the final substantive chapter of this thesis, Chapter Nine, I re-visit the waterfront precinct of Hobart, and discuss Dark Mofo's role in master planning for the Macquarie Point precinct. Through policy analysis, development applications, media reports and interviews, I then highlight how Dark Mofo and Mona have been employed as key tourism and economic

drivers, in order to justify and rationalise economic growth models and infrastructure development. Here I re-introduce the Bilbao Effect narrative into the script of culture-led urban development and subsequent waterfront gentrification, and examine to what extent the Mona Effect is veering towards this model with unfolding developments.

In Chapter Ten, I conclude the thesis with reference to future research, critically examine the findings presented throughout this thesis, and suggest potential theoretical frameworks for understanding unfolding developments in the city of Hobart. As I evaluate the qualities which afforded the sustained growth of Mona and Dark Mofo, I argue that the integration of the festival and museum in Hobart was predicated on their embeddedness in local networks, communities, businesses, and government bodies. I examine the role of Mona in relation to Weber's idea of the 'routinisation of charisma' (1922), and posit that protecting and supporting the qualities which initially assisted the development of Dark Mofo and Mona in the city will help to strengthen the resilience of Hobart's cultural economy and avoid routinisation. This is achieved through Dark Mofo and Mona's support of developmental practices, encouraging local business, and maintaining interpersonal and inter-institutional relationships which allow for the flexible application of regulatory frameworks.

While many commentators have promoted the Mona Effect through purely positive terms,I demonstrate how it is a complex and emerging process, embedded both within place, and within a context of neo-liberal urban development and tourism strategies. This thesis explores this nuance of 'effects' on both a macro and micro level, through in-depth analysis of the social, political, cultural and economic particularities of Hobart, and all of the contradictory relationships which exist within this deeply entangled network.

I contend that while Dark Mofo is informed by locality specific to the Tasmanian environment and encourages a distributed agency model which is embedded in the cultural economy of Hobart, the success of the festival is increasingly being employed to lobby for the development of capital projects, and to attract investment to the state. Therefore, as Mona and Dark Mofo evolve and become increasingly integrated in public policy arrangements and private city-based cultural infrastructure, literature relating to culture-led urban regeneration offers a means to understand these unfolding actions.

Chapter Two: Defining the Bilbao Effect and Developing the Mona Effect

Since Mona's opening in January 2011, commentators have drawn a direct correlation with the Guggenheim experience in Basque Spain (Editorial, 2013; Coslovich, 2012). In 2013, Tasmania's capital city was listed as number 7 in Lonely Planet's Top 10 Cities, with Marketing Director Chris Zeiher explaining,

> Hobart was actually nominated by our founder Tony Wheeler who referenced Bilbao in Spain, where the Guggenheim was established, as saying there's another great example of where a significance piece or beacon attraction has created really significant tourism and travel numbers' (as quoted in ABC, 2013).

Derived from the established phrase 'Bilbao Effect', the term 'Mona Effect' has been applied to describe the impact of this museum on the state, which has created a palpable 'sense of excitement' (O'Connor, 2013). But to what extent does the impact of Mona on Hobart approximate to a Bilbao Effect? This chapter examines the relevant literature, and chiefly contends that Mona does not correspond to the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao (GMB) experience, but rather forges its own narrative of 'effects' through interactions with organisations, individuals, governments and urban regeneration strategies of the city.

Here, I assess the field of Bilbao Effect literature to determine the meaning of this now ubiquitous phrase (Heidenreich and Plaza, 2015), and explore the extent to which the Guggenheim Bilbao embodies its symbolic images of:

> (i) structural change and economic development, (ii), urban regeneration with a cultural focus, (iii) the use of a flagship architecture in urban renewal and (iv) local–global partnerships in museum management (Haarich & Plaza, 2010: np).

After conceptualising this contested term, I examine ways in which the Bilbao Effect has been researched and analysed. The chapter then examines international case studies of urban-led cultural regeneration, where embeddedness has emerged as an alternative framework in which to give meaning to the Bilbao Effect concept (Baudelle, 2015; Krauss, 2015; Plaza and Haarich, 2015). The integration of cultural institutions into their communities has been specifically applied to understanding the success of the GMB by Plaza and Haarich (2015),

and by Franklin (2016: 90), who concludes that 'Bilbao's success has drawn upon capacities, skills and practices that are embedded deeply in the fabric of its social and cultural life'.

After reviewing the relevant literature in relation to the Bilbao Effect, and culture-led regeneration more widely, I suggest that a Mona Effect does not conform to the intentions, structure or particularities of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. However, the Tasmanian museum does correspond to the broader Bilbao Effect themes of urban regeneration and stimulating cultural industry through artistic, economic and socio-spatial embeddedness. I then review literature in relation to the 'cultural economy' and establish the relevance of this approach to the case study of Mona and Dark Mofo in the city of Hobart. The following chapter builds upon the theoretical approaches presented here to explore potential methods for research into a Mona Effect in the City of Hobart.

2.1 Defining the Bilbao Effect

Established in 1997, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao was part of a highly choreographed policy plan for urban regeneration of the economically depressed ex-industrial city of Bilbao. The term 'Bilbao Effect' has since found traction as a shorthand descriptor for the cultural, economic and urban rejuvenation of a city (or part thereof). The Bilbao archetype has become physically embodied by an iconic and architecturally innovative museum, and the phenomenon has motivated many attempted replications across the globe.

In assessing the resonances between Hobart and Bilbao experience, a definition of the Bilbao Effect concept is necessary. However, as the term Bilbao Effect has attracted broad and 'divergent' interpretations (Plaza and Haarich, 2013: 1456), this has resulted in misrepresentations of the museum's impact on the local society, economy and arts community, and created a narrative which does not correlate with lived experiences (Plaza and Haarich, 2008).[9]

In contemporary usage, the Bilbao Effect is frequently employed to describe the transformation of a site (and surrounds) by a 'starchitect', through design innovation and the prestige of their architectural practice. The redesign of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) by Renzo Piano and Peter Zumphor has been cited as part of a Bilbao Effect,

[9] Plaza and Haarich contend that variations in the meaning of the 'Bilbao Effect' as a signifier emerged from the vast literature surrounding the GMB and its impact. Between 1997 and 2008, 110 articles were published on the Guggenheim Bilbao, of which 80% were written by scholars outside of Spain, largely relying on second-hand material (Plaza and Haarich, 2015).

despite LA being an established urban mecca, with no need to re-invigorate a marginal city or a suffering and depleted post–industrial economy (Rybczynski, 2012). Other examples of this (mis)application of the phrase include reports of the Perot Museum of Nature and Science in Dallas, the Eli and Edythe Broad Art Museum at Michigan State University and the Jorge M. Perez Art Museum of Miami-Dade by Zaha Hadid (Recio, 2013). In these cases, the use of the Bilbao Effect descriptor solely concerns the innovative architecture, rather than the wider transformations of the city.

A 'build it and they will come' philosophy has emerged as a growing international trend as a form of large scale public art, often associated with museums and sites of cultural significance (Jackson, 2013). Commentary surrounding the 'starchitect' view of the Bilbao Effect has focused on museology, the concept of architecture-led tourism, and 'how we think about the museum design as a brand' (Fairley, 2014: n.p.). The significance of Gehry's museum design and the subsequent rise in innovative museum spaces as attractions is well established by Sudjic (2005) and Forster (1998). This architectural emphasis is also relevant to an emerging Mona Effect, where architectural critics and visitors have celebrated the vast concrete slabs, sheer sandstone rock face and industrial rust of the building.[10] The Mona building features predominately in reviews of the museum, and has emerged as a highlight for visitors to the site (Booth, pers. comm., 2015).

However, while Frank Gehry's design of an 'exultant eruption' (Fraser, 2005: 227)[11] provides a globally recognisable profile, Gehry himself described the 'idea that one building can transform the fortunes of an entire region as '…bullshit' (as quoted in Hoyle, 2008: n.p.). The GMB is the superficial figurehead for a wider network of policy interventions, and while central to Bilbao's success, does not represent the 'effect' in full. Eslea argues that the 'complex interrelationship' fostered between flagship buildings, curatorial decisions, staff, connection with community and 'position within a wider regeneration programme' are essential to explaining an institution's impact and success (Eslea, 2005: 2). Elsea promotes a 'ecological approach to the regeneration of place', whereby flagship cultural projects are understood in relation to local community, artists, stakeholders, education, urban regeneration, tourism, economic income, and the broader arts context, and that 'these areas

[10] In 2012, Melbourne architecture firm Fender Kastalidis was awarded the Australian Institute of Architects Sir Zelman Cowen Award for Public Architecture for its 'powerful and entertaining experience…creating one of the best examples in the country of the benefits of cultural tourism' (Architecture and Design, 2012).

[11] Fraser documented other descriptions of the building at the time of opening, including 'Exultant eruption, frozen explosion, stormy volumes, floral splendour, titanium tentacles, Tower of Babel, a Basque bomb, Lourdes for a crippled culture, the reincarnation of Marilyn Munroe…a sanctuary of free association. It's a bird, it's a plane, it's superman. It's a ship, it's an artichoke, the miracle of the rose.' (2005: 227).

interrelate and influence one another' (2005:1). In this regard, both Mona and the GMB can be understood to serve as physical and symbolic representations of a wider effect on tourism, economy and cultural identity, regardless of the building's actual impact on development in these areas.

In their four-fold critique of the Bilbao Effect, Heidenreich and Plaza (2015) question the significance of Gehry's museum as a single flagship, and argue that inadequate attention has been paid to the infrastructure improvements and political negotiations of Bilbao (such as improved sewerage and agreements with the Basque separatist group, ETA). Rauen similarly argues that cultural development was of no greater importance than 'the construction of a new airport or modern sewer system' (2001: 288). While culture was certainly employed as a 'powerful symbol of the transformation of the city' (Gonzalez, 1993: 81), the key objectives of the project transcended the mere creation of an iconic museum.

The interconnected policy network that aimed to transform the city is explicitly outlined by the Bilbao Metropoli-30 plan (1992), a private-public funding collaboration between the Basque government and private business. The plan provided a blueprint for aspirational projects, including a new subway designed by Norman Foster, transportation hub by Michael Wilford and James Stirling, local airport by Santiago Calatrava and multi-use waterfront development by Cesar Pelli (Plaza, 2000). Bilbao Metropoli-30 also prescribed the development of high-income housing, alongside retail, leisure and cultural sites in the riverside district of Abandoibarra (Fraser, 2005: 234; Sainz, 2012: 113). The GMB was envisaged within a cultural precinct, including the Euskalduna Convention Centre and Music Hall (Sainz, 2012: 13), and the museum was one of 71 actions recommended by an expert panel (Plaza and Haarich, 2015). This highly coordinated urban regeneration scheme became a symbol of Basque financial independence (Plaza, 2000: 267), and was significant to developing an internal sense of Basque identity, as well as projecting a new international identity.

As outlined by Gonzalez (1993), it is essential to consider the broader city planning in Bilbao to give context to the Bilbao Effect phenomena. While the Guggenheim Museum and other cultural institutions were of key significance to the urban regeneration project, they were not the driving motivation behind the extensive transformation of the city. 'Cultural centrality' was identified as one of eight key aims of the Metropolitan Bilbao Plan (Bilbao

Metropoli-30)[12], and Fraser (2005) argues this objective is directly linked to desired tourism growth, attracting international conferences, and 'perhaps above all the creation of an environment favourable for the development of advanced services' (Fraser, 2005: 234). The impetus for the project was economic, rather than cultural (Gonzalez, 1993).

As Plaza states, 'apart from its cultural aims, the main purpose of the GMB is to generate economic activity, as emphasised from the beginning of the project…' (2006: 455), and the principle aim of the project was 'the re-activation (and/or the diversification) of the economy of their territories, in addition to the obvious cultural aim' (2006: 506). Analysis of Bilbao Effect literature research has demonstrated that the 'supposed positive impact on economic growth' was the most frequently employed meaning of the 'so-called' Bilbao Effect (Baudelle, 2015: 1477). Plaza and Haarich also contend that 'the effect on economic development in Bilbao and its region is one of the most acknowledged representations of the Guggenheim Effect' (2015: 1460).

The Bilbao Metropoli-30 placed emphasis on the growing economy as a measure of success, and Gonzalez predicted that 'culture, in this context, would be expressed in the language of economics and would serve economic development objectives' (1993: 84). Written prior to the emergence of the Bilbao Effect as a term, Gonzalez defined the concept as a shift in image, built upon economic development and a change in quality of life. This understanding of the GMB's impact captures more than the development of the museum, to also include the complex policy which explicitly intended to economically rejuvenate the port city.

2.2 Cities of Culture

The concept of cultural regeneration through an iconic landmark has a historical precedence that pre-dates Bilbao. This heritage was recognised at the 'Learning from the Guggenheim-Bilbao' conference, where organisers proposed 'Bilbao was doing to Basques what the Sydney Opera House has done for Australia' (Centre for Basque Studies, 2004: n.p.). Additionally, the Bilbao Effect sits within a lineage of 'effects', as Baudrillard et al. (1982) derisively described the Pompidou Centre as stimulating a 'Beauborg-Effect' in the Parisian district where the experimental museum is situated. Kurt Forster argues that,

[12] The Bilbao Metropoli-30 was approved in March 1992, and is a collaboration between public and private institutions for the 'Strategic Plan for the Revitalisation of the Metropolitan Bilbao (Bilbao Metropoli 30, 1992).

> ever since the Centre Pompidou opened in 1977, not only do new museum buildings need to stand the test as adequate repositories of art, but they are also expected to act as catalytic agents of urban transformation. These new museums helped induce campaigns for the revitalisation of derelict urban territory… (1988: 9).

Gomez (1988) observes that the development of Bilbao can be compared to, and sought direction from, attempts of regeneration in Glasgow. The post-industrial Scottish city was at the centre of policy discussion and development during the mid-1980s, aiming to make the city 'more attractive to work in, to live in and to play in; to recreate Glasgow's entrepreneurial spirit: to communicate the new reality of Glasgow to its citizens and to the world' (Young, 1992: 213).

In 1986, Glasgow was nominated for the European City of Culture (ECOC) program, and it was the first city to exploit the program as a 'catalyst to accelerate urban regeneration, which resulted in an ambitious programme of cultural activity with an unprecedented level of funding from local authorities and private funding' (Garcia, 2004: 319). The Metropolitan Bilbao Plan clearly references the Scottish project, explaining that 'the Bilbao area will be an example in Spain as Glasgow and Manchester have been in Great Britain' (CS, 1989: 76). In their Bilbao Effect critique, Heidenreich and Plaza argue that the precedent of culture-led urban regeneration in Glasgow is not fully recognised in Bilbao Effect studies (2015: 1442), which has created misunderstandings of Bilbao as a unique phenomenon and a misapplied reference point for subsequent regenerative projects. As discussed in Chapter Four, the goal of making Glasgow 'more attractive to work in, to live in and to play in' (Young, 1992: 213) has been equally applied to policy and development narratives in a post-Mona Hobart context.

Critics highlight that the 'success' of Glasgow was largely restricted to place making and tourism, and the reconstruction of Glasgow's international image did not translate into improved employment figures, economic growth or quality of life for residents (Gomez, 1988). In both Glasgow and Bilbao, policy was primarily aimed at 'selling place' (Gomez, 1988: 110), following a model of 'cultural policy' rather than 'cultural planning' (Garcia, 2004; Bianchini, 1999). Garcia argues that 'culture was used as an instrument for economic regeneration without being supported by a properly developed urban policy' (2004: 319), and Booth (1996) suggests the 1990 ECOC initiative was driven by economic, rather than cultural objectives. Bianchini explains,

> …the quality of life of the residents in Glasgow's peripheral and severely deprived housing estates of Pollock, Drumchapel, Easterhouse and Castlemilp, for example, continued to deteriorate at the same time as the city centre was bring regenerated and revitalised through a variety of cultural institutions (1999: 40).

This discussion demonstrates that Bilbao policy was derivative of Glasgow's, where success was limited to place-imagery rather than economic, social or cultural outcomes, despite economic objectives, (Booth, 1996). In other words, Bilbao was structured on a 'fast policy' framework (Peck, 2002) that was ineffective in achieving Glasgow's immediate intended economic goals.

Rodriguez et al. (2001) suggest that despite noted increases in service employment in the wake of the GMB, growth within the first ten years was largely confined to the traditionally affluent communities concentrated on the right bank of the Nevrion River. Similarly, Fraser (2005: 247) argues that Bilbao does not live up to the popular myth of economic success, but rather has reinforced and reproduced pre-existing economic and socio-spatial divisions. Working class areas of Bilbao's left bank continued to experience a rise in unemployment and amplified social polarization in the years following the opening of the Guggenheim Museum. Heidenreich and Plaza also acknowledge the 'unwanted effects' of urban regeneration (2015), such as gentrification and homogenization, also outlined by Grodach (2010), Evans (2003) and Zukin (1995, 2011).

Discussion of the reach and distribution of the GMB's direct economic and social flows demonstrates a disjuncture between the reality of the Bilbao experience and the concept of the Bilbao Effect. Heidenreich and Plaza conclude:

> in the debate on the so-called 'Bilbao effect', it has become clear that culturally driven urban renewal is not a particularity of Bilbao, the development of a creative city will not be the result of a single 'catalytic project', successful urban regeneration cannot be induced only by one flagship building without an appropriate local and regional context, and finally that even successful strategies of cultural regeneration may have unintended and unwanted effects for the local population (2015: 1442).

Despite Heidenreich and Plaza's questioning of the 'uni-dimensional' explanations for Bilbao's transformation (2015: 1442), they recognise that significant transformations have occurred. The debated definition and contested meanings of the Bilbao Effect as a descriptor does not negate the increased popularity, cultural enthusiasm and global fascination with the Basque city. This approach acknowledges the phenomenon of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, while simultaneously recognising the limitations of the Bilbao Effect phrase in capturing the critiques and complexities of the culture-led urban regeneration model.

2.2.1 Iterations of Regeneration

The reported success of the Guggenheim Bilbao has gained currency among policy makers worldwide, particularly 'policy transfer tourists' (Gonzalez, 2011). Peck and Theodore (2010) describe the rise of 'policy mobilities', whereby policy makers travel to cities where policy interventions have been deemed successful, and 'transfer' decontextualised policy to their own cities. Gonzalez argues that policy tourism in the wake of the GMB has provoked attempts by governments across the globe to recreate the Bilbao Effect phenomenon in their own backyard, following a 'script of "what works" in urban regeneration' (Gonzales, 2011: 1416).

This 'placeless' policy approach is also evident in 'creative city' literature, which promotes tool kits to replicate or generate cities as creative hubs (Landry, 2000; Florida 2004), and critiques the neo-liberal agenda attempted Bilbao Effect iterations have enacted (Miles, 2005; Peck, 2005; Evans, 2009; Gibson and Kong, 2005). Plaza (2008) labelled the process as 'Global Art Museums as Economic Re-Activators' or GLAMUR, connoting the superficiality of urban transformation through imported museum franchises. Pratt (2010) identified the evolution of a specific pattern, describing the replication of,

> an old industrial building re-developed by a 'starchitect' to create a new temple to contemporary art, with a collection franchised from a 'world collection', usually located on the bank of a river, or open water, traversed by a designer bridge (2010: 79).

Pratt's 'recipe' has definite resonances with the Mona experience, particularly the spatial and geographical elements. Walsh himself recognises these correlations with the Bilbao model, stating 'when I built Mona I wasn't particularly interested in where it went,

now I'm sort of thinking about it in the Guggenheim sense of creating a foundation, an institution' (Walsh, as quoted in Frost, 2014). While these physical echoes demonstrate strong connections between Mona and the GMB, the intended outcomes, policy, planning and motivations between each project differ. As discussed below, Mona did not intend to create a 'McGuggenheim' (Zulaika, 1997) and in contrast to the Bilbao Metropoli-30 objectives, was never envisaged within a policy framework. Furthermore, in contrast to the Bilbao or GLAMUR models where the replicability of an external reference point is a key feature, I demonstrate how Mona draws upon local place representations in its approach, intentions and design. However, while the genesis of the two projects differs, there is value in comparing their impacts, and how these impacts have been framed and understood.

Critiques of the Bilbao Effect narrative warn that it was born of specific circumstances, policy and chance encounters, within a cultural, social and political milieu of its own (Baniotopoulou, 2001; Plaza, 2008), but has been reimagined as a universally applicable model. The limitations of replicating the Bilbao Effect and Floridian enterprises are well documented (Pratt, 2010; Grodach, 2010), and less successful iterations of the Bilbao 'recipe' include the Sheffield National Museum of Popular Music (declared bankrupt within its first year) and the Ohr-O'Keefe Museum of Art in Biloxi, Mississippi. The Ohr-O'Keefe site literally attempted to transpose the 'formula' of Bilbao to Biloxi by employing Gehry as architect for the museum, but in doing so failed to respond to the locality, and Biloxi Mayor A. J. Holloway reported that 'the residents of the city were never really behind it' (in Severson, 2011: n.p.).[13]

The attempted culture-led urban regeneration scheme in the declining factory town of North Adams, Massachusetts, also failed to capture public enthusiasm (Zukin, 1995; Sheppard et al., 2006). The proposal for the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art (MASS MoCA) by Thomas Krens (responsible for the development of the GMB and expansion of the Guggenheim brand) aimed to,

> bring the tourist industry to a small, deindustrialized corner of the Berkshires that had been untouched by previous waves of tourist growth. In addition to an estimated 644 jobs in the museum complex, itself, MASS MoCA would

[13] The lack of connection to place was highlighted when planners failed to accommodate for the 80% humidity of the region, which limited the museum's ability to house and display artworks without compromising them (Severson, 2011).

theoretically create employment in hotels, restaurants, and shops connected to tourism (Zukin, 1995: 84).

The enterprise offers key reference points to the GMB, and conforms to the predominantly economic objectives that motivate the Guggenheim's satellite developments. Further contested Bilbao Effect projects include the Abu Dhabi Guggenheim and Guggenheim Helsinki outposts. The United Arab Emirates development provoked protest by the 'Occupy Museums' movement, concerned with the abuse of migrant workers (Fitch, 2014), and local gallerist and arts patron Ramin Salsali reported that the project 'would not stimulate the local economy and cultural development' (in Batty, 2014: n.p.). In Finland, the Helsinki museum proposal was met with critical backlash (Goff, 2017), and resulted in the development of a design competition (Edelson, 2015) launched as an alternative to the Guggenheim (Next Helsinki, 2015).[14] In 2016 the EUR 150 million proposal was voted against by councilors, while advocates continued to reference Bilbao as a successful case study (Henley, 2016).

In contrast to the contested and growing globalisation of the Guggenheim brand, this thesis develops an understanding of an emerging Mona Effect which takes reference from contemporary examples of cultural and urban renewal where re-creating a Bilbao Effect has not been an intended objective. Case studies of the Louvre-Lens (Baudelle, 2015) and Metz-Pompidou (Krauss, 2015) both problematise the Bilbao reference model while simultaneously drawing upon the narrative and themes of culture-led urban regeneration. The Benesse Art Site Naoshima (Kondo, 2012) provides an alternative reference model, which sits outside public policy, and connects with Mona as a private enterprise. These three examples offer some connection to a broad understanding of the Bilbao Effect; however, their development was informed by different objectives to the GMB case study, which primarily aimed to stimulate the economy through arts-led urban regeneration and tourism.

2.3 Embeddedness

[14] The website further explains "Our competition - not really a competition at all, rather a call for ideas, an anti-competition - sought to ask first if a massive foreign museum was the highest and best use for public resources, especially in an aspirationally egalitarian social democracy like Finland" (Next Helsinki, 2015).

Plaza and Haarich reinterpreted the concept of the Bilbao Effect to present an alternative framework by which to assess the impact of the GMB: of 'regional embeddedness and global integration' (2015: 1458). According to Granovetter, embeddedness refers to the 'role of concrete personal relations and structure (or 'networks') of such relations in generating trust and discovering malfeasance' (1985: 490). Similarly, Beckert's definition of 'embeddedness' describes 'the social structuration of world of meaning whose enactment is based on interpretation. This process is undetermined but not unstructured' (2003: 771) and which 'points to the indissoluble connection of the actor with his or her own social surroundings' (2003: 769).

Examining regeneration projects through a lens of embeddedness enables enquiry into the strength of linkages and connections without negating an economic argument. This broader approach exposes how economic success is underpinned by 'local clusters, creative ecology, soft infrastructure, creative field…' (O'Connor and Gu, 2010: 131). Hawkins (2012) highlights the importance of embeddedness in tracing the meaningful relationships between culture, urban development and geography, and Plaza et al. (2009) advocate for an understanding of the Bilbao Effect as a process of interconnected links, evolving collaborations, and interrelations. This acknowledgement of linkages and cultural ecology allows for research which considers both 'regional embeddedness' and 'global integration' (Plaza and Haarich, 2015).

The international cases of the French museums Louvre-Lens and the Metz Pompidou also serve as examples for how embeddedness can be used to examine the success of cultural institutions, where 'the intrinsic economic value of the creative economy is at the same time about its intrinsic cultural value' (O'Connor and Shaw, 2014: 167). Such an approach enables evaluation of Bilbao Effect elements while acknowledging that the phrase is 'misleading because such an effort cannot be observed even in Bilbao' (Heidenreich and Plaza, 2015: 1450).

The approach of embeddedness allows for culture to remain primary, and for recognition of the wider cultural ecology which is symbiotically connected with Mona. Pratt argues that 'creative city' research has primarily addressed the impact on four main areas of:

1. 'Heritage and cultural tourism (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Richards, 1996)
2. Economic development and place making (Florida, 2002, 2004)
3. Social inclusion and democratization of culture (Bianchini, 1999)
4. 'the intrinsic focus on the cultural and creative industries' (Pratt 2010)

Of these research areas, Pratt asserts that the 'intrinsic focus on the cultural and creative industries' has been the least explored area (2010:15). In the case of Mona, the breadth of activity generated by the multifaceted brand encourages a cultural economy approach, where the 'complex interrelationship' fostered between flagship buildings, curatorial decisions, staff, connection with community, tourist enthusiasm and urban regeneration are essential to explaining the institution's impact.

Baudelle's research on the Louvre's satellite museum in the ex-coal mining town of Lens presents the museum as an archetype of the Bilbao prototype, despite the 'gap with the reference model' regarding projected outcomes between the two enterprises (2015: 1485). The study dismisses the idea of the Lens experience as an iteration of Bilbao, instead presenting indications of a similar 'effect' generated by the French museum.

Baudelle broadly understands the Bilbao Effect to have four typical factors: local-global linkages; symbolic flagship architecture used in urban renewal and city globalising; culture-based urban regeneration process; and economic development (2015: 1485). The presence of these elements is established to different degrees in the Lens enterprise, and Baudelle highlights the different emphasis on economic development and financial motivations between the Lens and Bilbao satellites, describing the Louvre-Lens as 'a reference to the "Bilbao Effect" but above all a cultural project' (2015: 1477).

Baudelle is primarily concerned with the 'social embeddedness' of the satellite museum as both a criterion for, and explanation of, for the Louvre-Lens success (2015: 1482). The research particularly highlights the museum's ability to mobilise a variety of 'previously segregated actors' including regional, national and global connections (2015: 1482).

Recent studies of the GMB have recognised the significance of social embeddedness, and concluded that 'although it is true that local embeddedness was not one of the primary goals of the museum, one can observe today that the GMB has managed to develop relationships with multiple actors, initiatives and policies' (Plaza and Haarich, 2015: 1457). They contend that 'regional embeddedness has been a necessary condition to create an attractive museum, carry out its social, cultural and artistic function and develop a sustainable activity in the medium and long-term,' (Haarich and Plaza, 2015: 1457).

The Guggenheim Bilbao played a significant role during the planning stages of the Lens museum, as local politicians visited Bilbao to see the impact of the museum on the city (Baudelle, 2015). Ceballos argues policy transfer tourism to Bilbao resulted in a limited understanding of the GMB's particularities, and that:

> the danger with these visits and the use of the 'case' is that in order for the experience to be transferable it has to be codified in such a way that it becomes simplified and stripped of its references, rendering it anodyne and consequently malleable in different discursive frames (2004: 185).

In recognising the limitations of policy transfer, Baudelle understands the narrative of the Bilbao Effect in Lens as a metaphor or 'symbolic point of reference' (Plaza and Haarich, 2015: 1489), applied to convince stakeholders of the value of supporting the Louvre development.

Baudelle explicitly highlights how the primary goals of business and branding (GMB) and democratisation and culture-based education (Louvre-Lens) differ significantly. Although crude, Table 1 (borrowed from Baudelle) clearly displays the disparities between the two projects.

Table 1. A decision-making comparison between Guggenheim Bilbao and Louvre-Lens (Baudelle, 2015: 1481)

Main Characteristics	Guggenheim Bilbao (GMB)	Louvre-Lens (LL)
Goal	International city branding business model	Culture-based education policy and democratisation
Initiative	City mayor	Central State
Level of Decision	Global and local	National and regional
Funding	Global and local	Regional

The disparity in motivation behind cultural institutions is largely overlooked in Bilbao Effect literature, where difference in objectives become overshadowed by commentary about physical similarities (e.g. isolation, starchitecture) with the GMB. This results in 'cognitive and knowledge based impact' of the museum being reported in the media, where the 'so called Bilbao Effect' is a point of journalistic focus, despite considerable differences (Krauss 2015: 1497). As outlined in Chapter One, this superficial connection with Bilbao is evident in the case of Mona.

The relevance of the Bilbao Effect reference was also examined by Heidenreich and Plaza in relation to the objectives of six international museums, who found that all cases

lacked evidence in conforming to the phenomenon[16] (2015: 1450). In the context of Mona, the aims of the museum (as described by David Walsh) also deny direct comparison with the intentions which guided Bilbao. The objectives which informed Mona's development were:

- 'to facilitate improvements to cultural facilities in Tasmania
- to be an educational facility for schools
- to provide a creative environment for artists/writers in residence
- to be patrons of contemporary arts and culture
- to generate Government interest in community driven projects with possible funding outcomes' (as cited in Franklin, 2017: 1002).

In contrast to the initiative being led by the Mayor (as in Bilbao), Mona was self-initiated by David Walsh, approved according to local government planning permissions, and privately funded. In outlining the goal, initiative, decision-making and funding of Mona, it is evident that there are significant discrepancies with the GMB case study. Below I outline studies of other international examples of culture-led urban regeneration which provide potential theoretical models which could be applied to analysing and communicating the impacts of Mona on the city of Hobart.

2.3.1 International Examples

The Metz Pompidou, an off-site branch of the Paris institution built in the post-industrial northeast region of France, offers an additional reference point for relevant culture-led urban regeneration literature. The initial aims of the satellite Metz branch were reported as a decentralisation of French cultural and economic capital (Krauss, 2015: 1498) and to reinvigorate the area 'not only in mere economic terms, but also with regard to issues of social cohesion, identity, reputation and image' (Krauss, 2015: 1499). Krauss similarly applies Baudelle's (2015) approach of assessing the project's success based upon evidence of 'social embeddedness' (2015: 1494). In measuring the impact of the Pompidou, Krauss observed that the Metz project,

[16] The other elements of comparison were the starting year of the project, goal, cost, management structure, level of decision making, architect, exhibition space, visitors, employees in the museum, complementary events, industrial and employment structure in the region and means of gathering data (Heidenreich and Plaza, 2015: 1412).

> pursued a *completely different strategy to that of the Bilbao case*…It was seen neither as an opportunity to make money nor to increase the international visibility of the Centre Pompidou, but to improve the image and cultural activities offered in a disadvantaged region' (2015: 1507, emphasis added).

In this respect, both the Metz-Pompidou and the approach employed by Krauss offer a potential guide for an impact study of Mona which is focused upon the broad impact of the museum and its associated festivals.

In the case of the Metz-Pompidou, social embeddedness was achieved through the deliberate integration of both local government and private bodies, facilitated by the Director of the museum. In the developmental stage of the project, the Director initiated collaborations with the Regional Contemporary Art Fund of Lorraine (FRAC Lorraine) as well as other relationships through external 'constellation' events, which mapped out a local network and were aimed at maximising local partnerships. These partnerships extended beyond the usual remit of the cultural industries and encouraged associations with economic and development agencies, and Krauss specifically sees the 'inclusion of actors from outside the cultural domain…as an indicator of increasing social embeddedness' (2015: 1498). Krauss also emphasised the pro-active role of the Pompidou Metz in liaising with local restaurant and shop owners to encourage a revision of opening hours to meet the needs of tourists to the areas, as well as assisting the businesses through heightened trade (2015: 1505). This broader cultural economy approach resonates with the Mona experience, as outlined in Chapter Three.

Social embeddedness was also applied as a measurement of success for Margate's Turner Contemporary gallery in the United Kingdom. Opened in 2011, the £17 million development follows many conventions of the culture-led urban regeneration model, and is supported by a range of social and cultural policies, specifically aimed at regenerating the depressed seaside resort town (Ward, 2016). Although the city of Margate suffered an economic town-turn, unlike Lens or Metz the area has a pre-established history of tourism and cultural significance, offering a point of reference for my Hobart-based research.

2.3.2 Private made Public

Outside of the GLAMUR (Plaza, 2008) model or Bilbao Effect framework, examples of private collections and arts patronage offer another structure for interpreting the impact of Mona and developing an understanding of the Mona Effect. The Benesse Art Site Naoshima is a privately owned and operated art museum, located across three small fishing islands in the Seto inland sea, Japan. While the GMB prototype offers comparative elements of design, location and tourism to a Mona Effect study, the Benesse Art Site extends these points of reference to include similarities in the genesis of the two projects, the significance of locality, and the broad scope of associated festivals, programs and events linked with the museum brand and identity. In contrast to the Bilbao experience, the Benesse Art Site is not a satellite project of a major institution or incorporated into a supporting network of cultural, social and infrastructural policies. Rather, the Benesse Art Site is part of a growing global trend in private collection museums (Wattler, 2013). While corporate patronage for cultural activities is not unusual in Japanese culture, the scale of this private enterprise museum extends beyond the usual remit of cultural philanthropy (Kondo, 2012).

Historically, Naoshima island (the original of the three art sites) suffered an economic depression similar to Bilbao and Glasgow. As a result of the decline in the local fishing industry, the island experienced depopulation, a struggling economy and a decline in tourist numbers to the area (Kondo, 2012). Once the art islands were fully established, the Kagawa prefecture government made provisions in the budget to support the associated arts festival and subsidise transport and infrastructure upgrades (Kondo, 2012: 109). The Naoshima experience therefore offers similarities to the arrival of Mona beyond the GMB archetype, in that relationships and the development of policy have emerged in response to the museum, rather than as the impetus for it. Research by Kondo also highlights the significance of natural heritage and local gastronomy for the identity and success of the Benesse initiative (2013). Additionally, the auxiliary features of accommodation, restaurants and festivals are cited as contributing to the local cultural economy. These additional supporting elements of cultural and tourism activity have not been incorporated into discussions of the Bilbao Effect model or GLAMUR structure of culture-led urban regeneration literature.

2.4 The Cultural Economy

In this section I review literature that applies a cultural economy lens to discussing culture in cities, and assert the relevance of an approach which considers the embeddedness of an institution in its locality. I introduce key theorists who provide an overview of the

development of the cultural economy perspective, before examining how such an approach has been applied in case studies of culture-led urban regeneration, and its relevance to research on Mona's impact in Hobart.

A cultural economy approach offers a perspective on the relationship between culture and the economy which does not separate between 'base-super-structure/essence-appearance/rule-response' (Amin and Thrift, 2007: 145), but rather is underpinned by principles of interrelated action and interdisciplinary research. In seeking to counter the 'simplistic and star struck optimism' (Pratt, 2011: 137) of creative cities literature, Pratt promotes a cultural economy approach which recognises the 'unusually embedded nature' of cultural production (2011: 138).

In his critical analysis of creative cities literature, Pratt argues that the role of production must be reintegrated with the cultural economy (Pratt, 2004a), and in so doing, he takes a spatialised approach in recognising the varied places where production occurs (Pratt, 2011: 141). In an analysis of the transition from urban political economy to cultural economy as part of the post-modern turn in the 1990s, Ribera-Fumaz (2009) highlights how cultural activity was contextualised as interlinked to urban spaces. This cultural economy approach 'takes seriously the importance of cultural processes…but that understands them to be closely linked to material political economy processes' (Ribera-Fumaz, 2009: 460).

Gibson and Kong similarly highlight the cultural turn in economic geography as informing understandings of the cultural economy. In their critical review of the term, Gibson and Kong propose four definitions for understanding the cultural economy[17], while also problematising these 'normative cultural economy' approaches (2005: 552) for the promotion of singular narratives of success. Gibson and Kong describe the cultural economy as constituted of multipilicitous and complex relationships, and contend that 'for the cultural economy to remain relevant…research requires a balance between agendas focused on generalisation of macroscale trends…and attention to the complexities of interscalar processes and relations' (2005: 557). As detailed in the following chapter, the approach of tracing both top-down and grassroots activity directed both the content and ethnographic methods of my thesis.

In regards to applying a cultural economy lens to academic research, the definition and approach proposed by O'Connor and Gibson guides my thesis:

[17] 1. The sectorial approach; 2. the labour market and organisation of production approach; 3. The 'creative index' approach; 4. The convergence of formats (Gibson and Kong, 2005).

> The cultural economy of the city is complex and diverse…involving networks and clusters bound together by shared externalities, norms and values. At the same time these activities are sources of volunteering and participation, and of a range of formal, informal and part-time employment and trading activity which are deeply embedded in the social and cultural life of the city and contribute to the quality of urban life and its core, shared values. All of these are deeply intertwined with the spatial configuration of the city (2014: 56).

This configuration acknowledges the breadth of externalities which facilitate success, exchanges of value outside of economic structures, and the embeddedness of culture in cities. Furthermore, the spatiality of urban environments is appropriate for my research into Mona's impact in Hobart, as detailed in the following methodology chapter.

Literature concerning the 'cultural economy' also aligned with my research methodology of following ethnographic and place-based lines of inquiry. As a key critique of Bilbao Effect replications has been their 'placeless' approach of appropriating a decontextualised international trend, research into the specific cultural economy of Hobart allows for the particularities of Mona's impact to be traced and explored. A cultural economy approach applies an analytical framework which considered the extent to which Dark Mofo and Mona and embedded in the city, and to what extent this embeddedness in the cultural economy has facilitated the museum and festival's impacts and growth.

In applying a cultural economy approach to cities, Oakley and O'Connor - following the work of Zukin (1991) and Pratt and Hutton (2013) - argue that 'the cultural economy sees production as rooted in the active, vernacular, place-based view of the city…whereas cultural consumption is viewed as external, abstracting, passive' (2015: 204). A cultural economy approach which explores the active and vernacular relies on,

> high level skill and knowledge, and involving a myriad of small firms and entrepreneurs alongside the large corporations. They are rooted in place, thus more resilient, and they contribute positive externalities to the city, making it more liveable, which in turn increases the stock of shared cultural knowledge and personnel available for the cultural economy. In short, it is a benign economy and contributes to the quality of urban living for producers and consumers. It is the potential - completely juxtaposed to the innovation imaginary of the creative

> economy - that has tended to inform the urban based cultural economy policies, concerned to link endogenous development to quality of life in ways, that national governments have found difficult to achieve. The city has become a central horizon of cultural economy thinking (Oakley and O'Connor, 2015: 22).

This cultural economy approach allows for the networked interdependencies of embedded activity to be explored. As Pratt writes,

> A creative city cannot be founded like a cathedral in the desert: it needs to be linked to and be part of an existing cultural environment. We need to appreciate complex interdependencies, and not simply use one to exploit the other (2008: 35).

Stevenson and Matthews (2010), in their examination of culture, policy and the city, highlight the limitations of research which fails to incorporate these interdependencies. In seeking to avoid a 'city imagining cliché' of the Floradian creative city model whereby levels of cultural 'success' is assessed against a 'creative index', Stevenson and Matthews instead promote research into the intersection of policy, culture and the city. They observe,

> cultural planning at its most sophisticated is considerably more than an urban policy framework for the arts. It is an innovative and holistic approach to the design, governance, and economic development of the city. Cultural planning is simultaneously an urban, leisure, tourism and cultural policy phenomenon. However, what is known about cultural planning is either very descriptive or narrowly focused on culture and the arts (2010: 197).

This stream of literature, discussing the significance of the intersection of cultural economy and urban policy, is particularly relevant for Chapters Six, Seven and Eight of this thesis, which examine the urban regeneration, planning and policy impacts of Mona and Dark Mofo in the Hobart.

2.4.1 Festivals and Cultural Economy

There is a small yet significant body of research looking at 'festival economies' within the cultural economy. Festivals are particularly relevant to Tasmania, a state with over 221

festivals a year (Gibson et al., 2010: 283). While there is not a comparable Australian arts and music festival to MONA FOMA or Dark Mofo, Gibson and Connell (2003, 2011) and Gibson and Davidson (2004) investigate the economic, tourism and place making impact of Australian music festivals. For example, Gibson and Davidson (2004) follow a cultural economy approach to researching the Tamworth Music Festival, and highlight the impact on local retailers, as well as the community response to increased flows of tourism.

However, literature on the cultural economy generated and sustained by festivals is predominately focused upon the financial impact of festivals, rather than asserting the cultural impact that they may facilitate (Quinn, 2005). Richards and Wilson (2004) highlight how cities utilise events and festivals to 'improve their image, stimulate urban development and attract visitors and investment' (2004: 1931), a model which Richards describes as 'the eventful city' (2017: 43). Richards identifies how 'events are relatively flexible compared to investment in fixed structures and iconic architecture' and are therefore an attractive option for government funding and support (2017: 43). Event-based urban regeneration planning is criticized for providing an 'illusion' (Richards, 2017: 43) of investment in improving cities, or a 'quick fix' (Quinn, 2005: 927), but in reality emphasises temporary spectacle over long-term support and funding (see Grodach, 2013).

The role of festivals in the cultural economy has been critiqued for their perceived inclination to homogenise (Evans, 2001) rather than create 'place distinctiveness' (Quinn, 2005: 927). However, Quinn argues that a lack of connection to place is not a characteristic of festivals, and can be avoided through cultivating 'local particularities' alongside global networks. This model avoids festivalisation through encouraging cultural production alongside consumption, and connections with the cultural economy of a place. Quinn also argues for the re-visioning potential of festivals in stimulating urban regeneration, if their 'latent social and cultural potential' is acknowledged and utilised (2005: 940). This literature which critically engages with the potential of urban festivals intersects with Oakley and O'Connor's aforementioned definition of the cultural economy (2014).

2.4.2 Food and Cultural Economy

In both Hobart and Bilbao, food and beverage industries are significant contributors to the cultural economy of the cities, and are the production of cultural products. In Bilbao Effect literature and broader research concerning arts-led urban regeneration, the impact of restaurants, cafes and bars has primarily been articulated within the framework of financial

exchange. In research on Bilbao and the Guggenheim Museum, Plaza employed the economic multiplier effect modelling of Greffe (2004) to measure the 'impact of heritage' where,

> 10,000 visitors create 1.15 direct jobs (persons employed in the museum itself) and every direct job generates 0.62 indirect jobs (in the fields of interior architecture, conservation and restoration), 3.84 induced jobs (by intermediate consumption) and 2.59 jobs in the tourism sector (hotels, restaurants, tourist guides, etc.) (Plaza, 2006: 459).

According to Greffe's model, the tourism sector (including restaurants) are a primary industry impacted by the Bilbao Effect. This finding is echoed by Del Castillo and Haarich (2004) who establish that tourist service industries (restaurants, hotels and retail) were the chief financial beneficiaries of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. Plaza et al. (2016) also found that the culture of haute-cuisine contributed to 'structural changes in connectivity patterns' in Bilbao, and Plaza (2000) and Franklin (2016) identify that the 'embeddedness' of local Basque cuisine assisted the success of tourism to the Spanish region. More broadly, beyond the Bilbao case study, Scarpato (2002) connects gastronomy to cultural industries through positioning food and beverages as tourist product.

While the notion of food as a creative industry is increasingly recognised in contemporary theory (Haven-Tang and Jones, 2005), my research does not aim to expand or re-define contested parameters of the creative and cultural industries, which O'Connor describes as a 'subject of intense debate' (O'Connor, 2000: 15). Rather, in Chapter Six, I demonstrate how Mona and Dark Mofo's stimulation of the local restaurant, cafe, and locavore food and beverage industries has been integral to Mona's success, while also stimulating the cultural ecology and night-time economy of the city.

Conclusion

This chapter has established the complex and multiple narratives which have emerged from the evolution of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, and the disjunctures between the Mona and Bilbao experience. In reviewing the relevant literature, I assert that while the Mona experience is not consistent with the publicly funded and planned integration of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao into the economic, cultural and social life of Bilbao, there is

relevance for this Hobart research in Ceballos' argument that 'the Guggenheim has turned Bilbao into a case study used superficially to prove that flagship cultural regeneration can have positive results' (Ceballos, 2004: 186).

The 'embeddedness' lens applied in studies of the Louvre-Lens, Metz-Pompidou and Benesse Art Site demonstrate an alternative model of analysis and evaluation for projects which conform to a broad interpretation of the Bilbao Effect, but have not explicitly intended to replicate the impact of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. This literature review of the Bilbao Effect provides a theoretical basis for developing a research methodology which examines how Mona and Dark Mofo have been integrated with, and agitators of, the cultural economy of Hobart, as established in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter Three: Developing Approach and Methods

This chapter examines current approaches and methodologies in the fields of measuring, evaluating and assessing culture and cultural impact. After reviewing the potential of employing an econometric approach, I establish the relevance of ethnographic and place-based research methods. I highlight the benefits of a qualitative research framework as a means to promote a more nuanced understanding of the particularities of Mona's engagement with the city of Hobart, before outlining the application of these research methods in the site of my fieldwork: through interviews, content analysis of events and documents, participant observation, and seminar attendance.

This research is focused on urban regeneration and cultural economy in Hobart, and as such my research primarily engaged with Mona, the City of Hobart and the Department of State Growth. As prefaced in the ARC application, these three partners participated in the project with the aim of advancing specific goals for their own organisations, as well as for Hobart and Tasmania more broadly (Franklin et al., 2012). In particular, Mona was interested in understanding and capitalising upon its 'wider social, cultural and economic' impacts, and the City of Hobart's desire to encourage 'vibrant city life' provided guidance for the larger project and my research focus (Franklin et al., 2012: 9).

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While the research project is aligned with multiple arts, tourism and government bodies, it was initiated by the University of Tasmania, University of Melbourne, and Monash University as an academic enterprise. The findings of this PhD may be used to inform and 'generate practical cultural policy structures' (Franklin et al., 2012: 8), but policy outcomes and 'on-the-ground' recommendations were not an intended objective of this thesis.

The linkage arrangement was most tangibly realised via four Mona Effect Seminars, which brought together all key industry partners and the research team to 'exchange

information, assess progress, frame strategies and synergies and assess feedback from the project's ongoing series of findings' (Franklin et al., 2012: 5). The attendees and focused topics of discussion from these sessions are detailed in Appendix A. The structure of the Mona Effect research project provided direct access to key participants and actors within a network of Mona's wider cultural economy and tourism activity. These pre-existing channels of communication were formative in the development of both my research questions, and the ethnographic methodology.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the below research themes and aims emerged as relevant avenues of enquiry:

4. To establish a sociological understanding of Mona's impact in relation to the city of Hobart.
5. To contribute to wider scholarship of urban regeneration, in relation to specificities of place and the significance of local embeddedness through qualitative research methods.
6. To assess the impact of Mona on the cultural economy of the city.

These aims assisted in the framing of my research approach, and solidified into research questions, detailed in Section 6 of this chapter.

3.1 State of Play: Assessing Potential Approaches

In examining potential methods with which to examine the impacts of Mona and Dark Mofo, it became apparent that the research field is predominately focused upon quantitative and economic measures. This emphasis on financial evaluation is particularly evident in the context of Bilbao Effect impact studies. Below I present a detailed case for a specifically crafted form and style of qualitative approach for understanding and assessing Mona's impact, and explain the development of my research questions. These were directly informed by the methodologies I employed.

As my PhD is located within the discipline of sociology, my contribution to Mona Effect scholarship examines the sociological networks, rationalities and broader conditions of Mona's impact, rather than exclusively exploring the museum's economic impact and contribution to the city. While Pinnegar and Daynes have argued that sociology has traditionally privileged an understanding of human and social interaction within 'analytical,

not narrative terms' (2007: 26), I follow the work of Denzin and Lincoln (1994) in approaching the Mona Effect using a qualitative research framework. My research method is informed by an understanding of qualitative research as

> …multi-method focus, involving an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter…qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use of and collection of a variety of empirical materials…that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives (Denzin and Lincoln,1994: 2).

The 'inadequacy' (Blomkamp, 2015) of positivist approaches is particularly resonant with literature concerning the measurement of cultural impact and value, which highlights the issues of quantitative evaluations on both practical and epistemological grounds. I contend that the broader impacts cultural indicators aim to capture and measure are 'gradual, indirect and difficult to observe' (Blomkamp, 2015: 13). This is evident in the still contested field of Bilbao Effect studies, where the Guggenheim's impact is still disputed, evolving, and unresolved (see Plaza et al., 2009) eighteen years after its opening (Franklin, 2016).

Blomkamp contests the view of quantifiable data as 'neutral, value-free form of knowledge' (2015: 22), which aligns with Pinnegar and Daynes' recognition of a 'turn from number to word data' (2007: 15). The application of qualitative research methods in fields of urban regeneration and critical regional studies is not without its detractors or limitations, and ethnography and case studies have been criticised as promoting 'fuzzy concepts' in research methods (Markusen, 1999: 870). However, as Peck (2003) describes, in promoting clarity and transparency in the development and application of research methods, there is scope to increase the relevance and rigor of qualitative approaches in the field.

3.1.1 Measuring Culture

The positivist approach is problematised by Evans, who finds that evidence for the regenerative impacts of flagship cultural institutions is limited (2005). Evans argues that 'the attention to the high-cost and high-profile cultural-led regeneration projects is in inverse proportion to the strength and quality of evidence of their regenerative effects' (2005: 2). This paradox is highlighted in the case of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, where the

narrative and myth of the Bilbao Effect has overshadowed the still disputed impact on the local cultural economy (see Plaza, 2000). Despite this contradiction, Evans (2005) identifies increasing government enthusiasm for evidence-based policy to inform investment decisions, demonstrate a return on investment for public money, and provide comparative assessment indicators against other regeneration initiatives.

In a US based study, Goldbard found that 30 years of 'evidence-based' cultural research, 'has failed to accomplish the primary instrumental goal for which it was adopted' (2015: 218). In direct terms, Goldbard asserts that 'there is no proof that counting culture changes policy' (2015: 216). 'Counting culture' is dismissed by scholars on several counts, across the literatures of cultural policy, cultural industry, economics, urban sociology and cultural studies. There are socio-political questions about the 'datastan' approach to measurement (Goldbard, 2015), apprehensions with accuracy and legitimacy of economic measurement (Crompton and McKay, 1997), and concerns with the 'gradual economisation' of cultural policy (Peck, 2012: 467). In an attempt to move beyond econometric measures, non-economic 'indicators' are increasingly gaining traction in cultural impact studies (Markusen, 2006; and Klamer, 1996). These developments have brought about new criticisms associated with the 'theoretical, ethical, practical and political issues' of developing cultural indicators (Blomkamp, 2015: 15).

In an Australian context, recent publications by Phiddian et al. (2017) and Gattenhof (2016) explore the ways in which national cultural activity has been measured and valued. In 2007, the process of developing a national cultural indicators framework was initiated, in keeping with what Ferres et al. (2010) have described as part of a government 'commitment to evidence-based policy' (2010: 262). The Cultural Ministers Council Statistics Working Group published the 'Vital Signs' report (2010), but this has not resulted in the development of formal indicators for the sector. This failure was due partly to the availability of data, as well as questions surrounding the appropriateness of 'indicators' in relation to the 'policy expectations inherent in the questions being posed' (Tabrett, 2014: 89). This difficulty in establishing indicators for 'intangible phenomena' is highlighted by Blomkamp, who cites the three-decade gestation for the development of UNESCO's Framework for Cultural Statistics as evidence for the difficulty of categorisation, quantification, and meaningful measurement development (Blomkamp, 2015: 12).

Qualitative indicators were implemented by the Western Australian Department of Culture and the Arts (DCA), which developed a methodology for measuring public value and quality of the arts (Government of Western Australia, 2014: 6). The DCA approach aims to

move beyond Gross Value Added (GVA) and Social Return on Investment Models, and expresses the value of arts not in monetary terms, but through standard metrics of quality and reach assessed through a mobile application titled 'Culture Counts'. However, this impact assessment applies John Holden's model of intrinsic, instrumental and institutional value (2004), which has been critiqued by Belfiore (2012) for instrumentalising culture. Instrumentalisation has been associated with the marginalisation or displacement of 'local cultural distinctiveness' and 'damaging the long-term viability of cultural organisation' (Griffiths, 2006: 416), particularly in regards to urban regeneration (Dean et al., 2010).

In other Australian research, Meyrick and Barnett (n.d.) investigated the 'Value of Culture' at the Laboratory Adelaide, and concluded that 'no amount of counting something will tell you whether it is worth counting' (n.d.: 2). Their research project aims to 'devise ways to assess and communicate the value of culture beyond economic data and audience statistics' (n.d.: 3) This research specifically advocates for the role of storytelling in communicating cultural value, and highlights the benefits of 'deploying multiple evaluative strategies, not all of which need to harmonize' (Meyrick, 2016: 143) in explaining to governments and their constituents 'the puzzle of value' (Stark et al., 2011: 147). Gattenhof (2016) similarly argues for the role of narrative, and employed ethnographic research in her analysis of cultural measurement. This research contended that the application of quantitative data in cultural measurement 'cannot tell the whole story' (Gattenhof, 2016: 6).

In Tasmania, the Salamanca Arts Centre (SAC) commissioned a University of Tasmania study to determine the value of the institution, using an economic measurement as a 'pragmatic recognition of the fact that decision making in policy is inevitably fiscally constrained' (Muller et al., 2012: 12). The research followed a multiplier effect analysis (Myerscough, 1988), and can be aligned with the arguments of Bakhshi et al. (2009) regarding the necessity of embracing economics in a cultural sphere. However, the SAC study recognised the rich qualitative discourses of the value of arts, and acknowledged that 'art producers and consumers generally prefer qualitative analyses to the language of economics, claiming the latter is inadequate in describing the value of their sector…' (Muller et al., 2012: 18). Inadequacy of representation can be seen as an opportunity to develop alternative methods for communicating value, where 'artists and cultural policy-makers would insist on their right to convey cultural value and meaning with tools best suited for that purpose: story, image, metaphor and experience' (Goldbard, 2015: 226). These approaches, and the critiques of them, have helped to inform my methodology, particularly in recognising this 'inadequacy'.

Gielen et al. (2015) and Galloway (2009) assert that cultural value necessitates measurement which is relevant to the specific context. Gielen et al. explain that 'research into the societal impact of culture should not focus on establishing general rules in cultural interventions and research methods than can be replicated in many different situations', but rather that it is 'necessary to investigate the singular nature of cultural interventions: what is the nature of the project and what social effect can it have, given that nature' (Gielen et al. 2015: 65). This aligns with my place-specific approach (see Section 3.5), to avoid universalising readings of cultural impact and experience, and to promote an acknowledgement of particular case studies within a broader context of urban regeneration literature.

Transferable indicators may not be a useful or achievable strategic aim, but international precedents can give context against which to assess the particular value of a singular, non-replicable experience. Research which attempts to determine replicable systems of measure has potential negative side-effects, as Oakley warns: 'we all know that once you start measuring things, policy makers focus on those kind of things and therefore what gets measured matters' (conference notes, Altered State Seminar, 2015). The non-transferability of indicators also connects with the place-based approach discussed later in this chapter.

In an Australian review of 'Culture, Creativity and Cultural Economy' O'Connor and Gibson highlight the significance of the language of values. They contend that,

> this means a recognition of those elements of the economy that lie outside of formal economic analysis but which make its activities possible. This is already common amongst ecological, developmental and feminist economists - who claim variously that the natural world, traditional cultural support and domestic labour are either taken for granted or bracketed out from the economic equation (2014: 57).

O'Connor and Gibson's questioning of the economic imaginary enables otherwise overlooked externalities to be recognised and acknowledged, and the intersection of policy and practice to be explored. As discussed in Chapter Two, an examination of the micro impacts and externalities, in conjunction with the meta narratives and policies, has been largely unobserved in Bilbao Effect literature, resulting in overly simplistic narratives of the museum's impact.

The methodological decision to pursue a qualitative description of Mona's impact was also directed by practical concerns. In 2013, in light of comparable studies in Canada (Statistics in Canada, 2004), Finland (Ministry of Education, 2009), the UK (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2011), and Spain (Ministry of Culture, 2011), the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) announced a discussion paper regarding 'measuring the economic contribution of culture'. The ABS paper cites a lacuna in current measurements of the 'holistic estimates of the economic contribution made by cultural and creative activity in Australia' (ABS, 2013: 6), for both governance and economic purposes. Furthermore, in 2014 the ABS announced significant cuts for the collection and analysis of arts, culture, sports and recreation data, including the disbanding of the National Centre of Culture and Recreation Studies, which produced the highly cited 'Australian National Accounts: Cultural and Creative Activity Satellite Accounts: Experimental, 2008-09' (ABS, 2014). While occupational census data remains available, the decreased capacity of the ABS has resulted in a loss of comparable data regarding cultural participation. Gibson and Kong highlight that census data largely fails to capture the nature of cultural economy workers, which 'tends to operate on an informal, part-time, subcontracted bases' where work in this sector does not constitute an individual's primary income (2005: 543). The lack of available data to form a comparison between a pre-Mona and post-Mona economy adds logistical and practical weight to methodological considerations. The Mona Effect is therefore by necessity, as well as epistemologically, described in qualitative cultural economy terms rather than quantitative economic statistics.

In literature on cultural regeneration, the work of Richard Florida (2004) is frequently critiqued for the over-simplification of measuring a 'creative class' through indexes of the three Ts: talent (education level), technology (investment, patents and researchers) and tolerance (ethnical and sexual identity diversity). Pratt argues that this model enables a teleological simplification of creative economy development (2010: 13), and promotes a 'cookie cutter policy' approach to replication (2010: 18). The Urban Institute has similarly identified current limitations of urban measures such as Florida's Creative Index, where the ranking system 'use only narrow conventional systems of arts and cultural offerings and audience participation' (Jackson et al., 2006: 30). This failure of purely economic or numeric representations to capture complexity in cases of cultural economy and urban regeneration has therefore informed my qualitative approach, and provides 'ways of holding meaning together in more complex, relational, and therefore more nuanced ways than flowcharts of number tables' (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007: 20).

As this thesis aims to describe the sociological conditions that have facilitated Mona and Dark Mofo's impact on the city, a methodological position which encourages 'human connectedness and growth' (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007: 20) is pertinent. The following section provides a brief overview of comparable research into cultural economies and regeneration projects which utilised relational and ethnographic methods, and draws from methodologies employed in relevant literature from the fields of sociology, urban studies, creative industries, and human and cultural geography. I then detail how the work of Ingold (2014) and Desmond (2014) informed how I shaped my ethnographic research practice.

3.2 'Ways of Working'[20]

The Urban Institute (Jackson et al., 2006) and the UNESCO *Framework for Cultural Statistics Handbook* (UNESCO, 2015) have generated research on case studies relevant to the Mona Effect, utilising ethnographic measures to convey cultural value and impact. Publications from the two organisations review current practices for evaluating culture, and promote 'methodological triangulation' (Mangia et al., 2011: 102) and ethnographic enquiry. The UNESCO guidelines suggest,

> Its associated research methods of observation, interviewing and the use of documentary sources can yield valuable and valid data, particularly if used within the wider frame of experience-related studies. Ethnography has been used in the analysis of tourism since the 1960s, so given the association of festival research and festival tourism, the use is justifiable. If festivals can be considered as a 'place' for a culture's presentation of itself and its deeply held meanings, then an ethnographic methodology is the best fit for bringing this to the fore…The benefit is that the researcher as festival attendee/festival volunteer/local resident (any of the roles that would offer an insider perspective) would capture rich details and nuances of the festival (intangibles that have real value) that might otherwise not be accounted for in traditional methods such as visitor surveys, satisfaction surveys and event surveys (UNESCO, 2015: 29).

[20] Quotation from, Ingold (2014: 390).

Ethnographic research into the Mona festivals, as well as Hobart more generally allows for a layered and considered understanding of the place of local culture, and qualitative measures 'allow participants to verbally elaborate on experiences' (UNESCO, 2015: 64). This multifaceted approach of ethnography and place-specific engagement to explore qualitative 'intangibles that have real value' (UNESCO, 2015: 29) is similarly employed by Long (2013), Currid (2007), Harvey et al. (2012) and Thomas et al. (2013). Fieldwork for Power and Jansson's investigation into furniture trade fairs involved participant observation, analysis of documents, conversations and in-depth interviews, both within the exhibition halls and at off-site events (2008: 427). Other ethnographic approaches within the creative/cultural industry include artist interviews (Markusen, 2006), as well as combining interviews with spatial GIS mapping (Brennan-Horley et al., 2010). As Evans contends,

> in terms of urban policy, viewing both micro and meta-critiques together in context and in terms of the linkages between local and political economies - and between large firms, institutions and local economies and enterprises - might therefore be seen as a more valuable contribution to the discourse and requisite methodologies; less so, yet more cluster 'concepts' and explanatory creative occupation (class) and industry (employment) configurations (2009: 1031).

Indeed, when the ARC funding for the research project was allocated, an ethnographic research model was already foregrounded as the principle method of research (Franklin et al., 2012).

Ingold proposes that ethnography should be informed and directed by 'generous attentiveness, relational depth, and sensitivity to context' (2014: 384), and be observant of the 'about-to-happen in unfolding relationships' (2014: 386). This was outlined by Franklin et al. in the research proposal as 'by setting up and applying analytical and interpretative tools *as the Bilbao effect happens,* we will be able to observe the unfolding of the effect, rather than arriving at the subject after the fact, as it were; this will provide a valuable and rare perspective (2012: 8, emphasis in original). Bilbao Effect studies have largely been reported 'after the fact' (Garcia, 2004; Plaza, 2000, 2008) rather than as the Bilbao Metropoli-30 urban regeneration plans were unfolding (with the exception of Gonzales, 1993). Pratt argues that these Bilbao studies have led to a retrospective oversimplification of the relationship between culture and development (2010: 13). An ethnography of unfolding activity will this assist to repair 'rupture between reality and imagination' (Ingold, 2014: 393).

Fieldwork in the Dark Mofo offices assisted in providing in-depth knowledge of day-to-day operations, networks of activity, timelines, and interactions with external partners and organisations. In this role I followed Ingold's premise that,

> to observe is not to objectify; it is to attend to persons and things, to learn from them, and to follow in percept and practice. Indeed there can be no observation without participation - that is, without an intimate coupling, in perception and action of observer and observed (2014: 388).

Participant observation informed my subsequent ethnographic practice, as did the writing practice of reflecting on my time in the field.

An ethnographic study of Hobart's cultural economy provides an understanding of how connections and collaborations have developed in the emergence and unfolding of Mona, and allows a subsequent 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of these developments through multiple avenues of enquiry. This method is particularly appropriate for the Hobart context, as Harvey et al. (2012) and Brennan-Horley et al. (2010) have demonstrated. They observe how small communities, where hubs and nodes of activity can be clearly identified and followed, provide good case studies with which to apply an ethnographic approach. Though interviews, fieldwork placement, document analysis, seminars and participant observation, the 'full spectrum' (Harvey et al., 2012: 531) of local activity is available to be examined and the multiple sources of data collectively unveil information that would prove impossible to reveal through one method or source alone. My methodology borrows from Evans' findings that research into urban regeneration demands bringing together social anthropology, cultural studies, urban studies and sociology (Evans, 2005: 7) to evaluate social, economic and physical changes and transformation.

Ceballos warns that the 'casefication' of the Bilbao experience resulted in turning the GMB and its associated process of regeneration 'into a myth, acquiring a meaning of its own, somewhat independent of the real experience' (2004: 185). Stefanovic similarly asserts that 'the linearity inherent in causal explanations may close us off to the complexity of interdependencies between events and process' (1994: 64). I aim to ameliorate the potential danger of overly simple or mythical narratives through employing mixed research methods, as outlined below, to describe the complex reality of Mona's impact in Hobart.

Peck (2017a) highlights the limitations of research conducted exclusively through fieldwork and inductive sensibility. While fieldwork practices employed in assemblage

urbanism can unveil urban actions (see McFarlane, 2011), Peck contends these networks and urban actors are examined at the expense of recognising broader structural influence. Brenner et al. (2011) similarly question the efficacy of assemblage urbanism, due to its failure to adequately acknowledge socio-spatial contexts in which 'urban spaces and locally embedded social forces are positioned' (2011: 225). In his proposition for a theoretical lens of 'Conjunctural Urbanism', Peck (2017) advocates for coordinating ethnographic inquiry within a wider context of the political and economic environment, to locate a mid-level theory which acknowledges complexity, interrelations, and non-essentialising inductivism.

This approach to ethnographic practice aligns with the work of Desmond (2014), in acknowledging the benefits of fieldwork, but identifying limitations in applying bounded spatial or demographic parameters. Desmond, like Ingold, emphasises the role of relationality in fieldwork, which 'gives ontological primacy, not to groups or places, but to configurations of relations' (Desmond, 2014: 554). Desmond draws upon Becker (1996) to explain how these configured relations 'show how things hang together in a web of mutual influence or support or interdependence or what have you, to describe the connections between the specifics the ethnographer knows by virtue of being there' (Becker, 1996: 56).

Both Desmond and Peck's approaches facilitate a space 'to get a little closer to the entire thing,' while simultaneously acknowledging 'the thing entire is beyond the reach of a single ethnographic study' (Desmond, 2014: 559). Similarly, Sayer's (1992) analysis of methods in social sciences argues that 'the challenge of the philosophy of social science is to abandon simplistic, monistic accounts, of whatever kind, without lapsing into feeble eclecticism' (1992: 257). Desmond outlines the potential of fieldwork to follow an 'ecology of a field' (2014:557), which aligns with my cultural economy approach, as established in Chapter Two. Through ethnographic practice, I aim to provide a descriptive understanding of people, events, places and policies. This approach connects to the research objectives outlined in the first section of this chapter, and to the discussion of the replicability of the Bilbao Effect in the preceding chapter.

Ethnographic practice and Peck's proposition for a theory of conjunctural urbanism operate within iterative research structures, which enables a fluid process of discovery, revision, expansion, and avoid a 'substantialist perspective on social reality' (Desmond: 2014: 572). Equally, the narrative turn in qualitative inquiry promotes relational approaches between the researcher and their subjects, which are not 'bounded, static, atemporal or decontextualised' (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007: 11). This relationality and contextuality are

particularly significant to the development of my methodological approach, as my research field coincides with my social, professional and family networks.

3.2.1 Insider Research

DeLyser's review of 'insider research' (2001) highlights the potential pitfalls of studying a community within which you are already located, where traditionally in anthropological research fieldwork is conducted beyond the researcher's own backyard. However, DeLyser describes how insider perspectives break down the conventional researcher and research subject anthropological binaries, and enable simultaneously belonging to multiple communities (2001: 442). These findings resonate with my experiences during fieldwork placements, where I assumed concurrent identities of staff member, festival participant, researcher, and local resident. The interpersonal relationships I developed with a variety of participants over the course of my candidature and research were integral to gaining access to people and information.

Feminist geographers have identified insider research as a contested but productive space (England: 2001), and Clifford highlights that feminist and post-colonial turns in ethnographic practice are a means of making transparent these 'politics and poetics' (2003: 28), and act to destabilise the notion of 'objective' research. In a social work context, Kanuha (2000) differentiates between 'going native' as part of ethnographic research, and 'being native' where scholars conduct studies from within communities they are already participants in. In the field of cultural and urban regeneration, Abu-Lughod critiqued studies which privileged 'a view from the top, emphasising corporate networks rather than quotidian life and too readily passing over difference in state-specific policies' (2007: 400). Following the work of the Chicago School (e.g. Willis, 1997; Whyte, 1943), 'being native' was a key to the success of my fieldwork, and enabled me to be multi-positioned in the cultural economy at a quotidian level, while retaining a level of academic detachment from the field and allowing a critical examination of policies.

DeLyser (2001) also recognises the significance of the embodied researcher being physically connected to the 'field' of their fieldwork. While undertaking my PhD candidature, much of my desk-based research, analysis and writing was conducted at a small desk in the UTAS art school library. Located in Hunter St, with a view overlooking the Hobart docks and Mt Wellington looming in the background, my progress was charted against the rise of new waterfront developments directly outside the window. In the second

year of my research, my walk to the arts school library passed by the new Mona ferry terminal: a new site for me to grab a coffee on the way. I sat across the waterfront from the arts school, where the Mona Roma boat transported visitors between the museum and the city outside the window. As my candidature came closer to completion, so too did the shed hotel being constructed there, and whirring of power tools punctuated my typing.

This description is not to promote an auto-ethnographic approach (as successfully undertaken in relation to Mona by Conroy [2013]), or an egocentric experience of the city, but rather to demonstrate the highly visible changing landscape of the city, as experienced directly by its residents. Research on arts participation, suggests that daily experience of the research field can 'reveal local, tacit and embodied knowledges which slip under the cordon of the predominant epistemologies', and acknowledges the significance of incorporating 'local knowledge of contingencies and place specificities' (Gilmore, 2013: 94). As outlined in Section 6, access to cultural sector discussions, informal conversations at social events, and entry points to local networks were invaluable to the evolution of my research questions, and attaining evidence towards answering them. In particular, fieldwork in the Dark Mofo offices granted me insight into the evolution of the Dark Park project and subsequent Macquarie Point development from an early stage, and allowed my research to trace this development as it occurred.

3.3 Spatial Engagement

This research takes methodological direction from the cultural regeneration literature, which explores the relationship between urban regeneration projects and their relationship to locality. Scholarship has particularly highlighted how projects are unsuccessful when they fail to take place specificity into account (Pratt, 2004b, 2009; Miles, 1997, 2005, 2012; Scott, 2006; Gibson and Kong, 2005; Oakley and O'Connor, 2015; and Grodach, 2010). The Arts Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Cultural Value Project which aimed to identify what constitutes cultural value and develop methodologies to evaluate the same, found that the 'creative industries are firmly located within a discourse about place' (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016: 78). This significance of place is also recognised in discussion of methodologies to determine cultural value, where 'more sophisticated approaches have begun to insist on the specificity of culture and its complex relationship to ethnicity, identity and indigeneity' (MacDowell, 2015: 2). Gilmore (2013) highlights that 'place' and locality have been under-acknowledged in studies of arts, cultural engagement and participation, and

endorses research which acknowledges 'specificities of places, the situated cultural practices and implicit knowledge of localities, their internal logics, histories and structures' (2013: 86). Similarly, Patterson and Silver (2015) contend that an ecological and place-based approach to understanding arts growth is beneficial to policy makers, and found that a 'fruitful approach would be to understand the local conditions that spawn arts activity in the first place' (2015: 85). This recognition of cultural practice being both informed by place and layered into daily experience informs my research methods, where 'different kinds of knowledge and evidence - historical and synchronic' (Gilmore, 2013: 87) can be taken into account.

Historically, the reassertion of space in critical social theory (Soja, 1989) marked a spatial turn in cultural geography in the 1970s. Harvey (2003), Massey (1994) and Soja (1989) were informed by Lefebvre (1974) in arguing 'for the importance of space in producing social relationships' (Rendell, 2001: 3). Through a spatial inquiry, Mona's impact can be understood as enacted as part of a wider cultural economy, embedded in place while also generating new social production of space through the Dark Mofo festivals and other city based activity. This 'placing' of Mona is expanded upon in Chapter Four with particular reference to the 'culture and the city' (Oakley and O'Connor, 2015); however, it is significant to establish place as a conceptual framework which directed the methods as outlined below. As Pratt suggests in his study of creative cities, research ought to interrogate the 'primary objective of the initiative' (Pratt, 2010: 17). While city activation and urban regeneration was not a 'primary objective' of Mona (as discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the Bilbao Effect narrative), documentation for the initial Dark Mofo festival is clear in promoting city based activity as a goal for both Mona and the CoH. Mona's own objectives, identified in 2007 prior to the opening of the museum, are replete with broader city engagement and initiatives (Franklin, 2014: 214-215).[21] My research questions were informed by this 'primary objective of the initiative' (Pratt, 2010: 17).

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[21] These objectives were:

- Improvement to cultural facilities in Tasmania
- Cross-branding with Moorilla
- Educational facility for schools
- Academic resource and research facility
- Creative environment for artists/writers in residence
- Patronage of contemporary arts and culture
- Self-marketing: sufficient generator of controversy to continually engage media attention
- Put a rocket up public collections / generate Government interest in community driven projects with possible funding outcomes (Franklin 2014: 214-215).

However, while this research follows Mona's spatial engagement with the city of Hobart, I follow Desmond's relational ethnography approach for 'studying fields rather than places' (2014: 548). Rather than following the definitional assumption of 'fieldwork'- that there is a defined and contained 'field' in which to conduct the 'work' - I understand that 'the boundaries of relational space cannot be established a priori or in a single strike; they are discovered over the course of the fieldwork (if they are discovered at all)' (Desmond, 2014: 570). In a fluid and changing field (both the cultural economy of the city, and Mona's evolving activity) qualitative methods provide flexibility, where empirical methods of 'objective social science' presumes a 'stable, unchanging reality' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 8). Studies of specific 'cultural clusters' have similarly experienced these difficulties, where 'interactions and influences' cannot be bounded by district or cluster, but are spatially and temporally extended beyond the local town, nation, and country (Harvey et al., 2012: 537). I explore Mona's impact on a lived experience of 'Hobart' which is not spatially bounded or discrete, but constituted of relationships, materialities and objects which extend beyond the Tasmanian capital city, to include national and international flows and networks.

My discussion of locality is theoretically underpinned by an acknowledgement that locality is not endemic to a specific place, but as a study of Tuscan wine production found, 'generated and preserved by a long retinue of global-based practices and connections' (Certoma, 2011: 1010). Certoma's work on place and authenticity (2009, 2011) problematises the association between authenticity and fixity (2009: 315), where a hegemonic understanding of place is built upon a narrative of a singular experience, based on unchanging history and bounded spaces. Instead, Certoma employs the three propositions promoted by Massey in her theory of place in *For Space* (2005). Massey recognises space as firstly the 'product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions. From the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny'; secondly as 'of coexisting heterogenity'; and thirdly as 'always under construction' (2005: 9). Certoma applies Massey's approach, in investigating beyond the 'terroir' of place, and researching the 'space of embodiment and mutability; spaces of motion traced by different paths, dislocations, migrations through time' (Certoma, 2011: 1026).

The focus in this thesis is largely on 'locality': both as a branding tool by Tasmanian producers and also as a research approach to investigate local connections, networks, information flows, history and economies. The research simultaneously acknowledges that place is not 'space as stasis', but constituted of 'social interrelations at all scales' (Massey, 1994: 5). As Massey argues, exclusively localist understandings of place fix essentialist

readings on locations, and obscure the dynamic and changing social relations with external places which inform the identity of place:

> It is a sense of place, an understanding of 'its character', which can only be constructed by linking that place to places beyond. A progressive sense of place would recognise that, without being threatened by it. What we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place. (Massey, 1994: 156).

This thesis predominately describes local linkages and communities, and is informed by an understanding that these networks as constantly shifting, comprised of 'position interrelations with elsewhere' (Massey, 1994: 169). A similar approach has been followed by Luckman (2015) in exploring the cultural economy of Australian craft-makers, and acknowledging how local practice informed by place is connected to a global market, largely facilitated through online technologies. Oakley and O'Connor similarly emphasise that 'despite their role in the international networks of capital and ideas, the cultural sector is very much rooted in particular places' (2015: 203).

The significance of place has been recognised as formative to the success of the Bennesse Art Site (discussed in Chapter Two as a comparative case study to Mona). The authenticity of place is valuable to the branding of the museum, as

> Identifying and mining, or sometimes even fabricating a "uniqueness of place" in order to promote the image of a locale, to activate a depressed local economy, and to stimulate the declining social and cultural life of certain neighbourhoods and regions, has become a routine procedure for urban 're/development' in many parts of the world…*art produced within such frameworks often facilitates the commercialization of a place (and art) instead of its true and sustained cultivation* (Kwon, 2010: 151, emphasis added).

This 'true and sustained cultivation' can be assessed by the ongoing success of the museum, as well as the wider cultural ecology in which it sits. As yet, there are few case studies examining the longevity of cultural regeneration developments within a wider context of their locality and cultural environment (see Murdoch et al., 2016, and Markusen and Gadwa, 2010, exploring neighbourhood context of arts-led regeneration projects; or Klein, 2010, on the Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennial).

Critical place inquiry, as proposed by Tuck and McKenzie (2015), promotes a methodological model in qualitative research, which draws upon Booth's 'gestalt ontology' where sense of place is 'as real to the place as it is to the experiencer' (Booth, 2014: 6). As part of their eight propositions for critical place inquiry, Tuck and McKenzie suggest that place-based research should 'entail, at a more localised level, understanding of places as both influencing social practices as well as being performed and (re)shaped through practices and movements of individuals and collectives' (2015: 635). This approach allows the dual recognition of the local and the global as constitutive of 'place'.

Tuck and McKensie (2015) reference Massey's 'throwntogetherness, the unavoidable challenge of negotiating the here and how' in conceptualising the 'event of place' (Massey, 2005: 140). In a case study of the Volkskrant building (Amsterdam) - a squatting site converted into a mixed use arts factory - researchers used a lens of 'situatedness' as a model to understand the site and its spatiality. Sihvonen and Cnossen understand spaces as 'always in a process of emergence, as resulting from social practices that continuously have to sustain them or mould them into new spatial articulations' (2015: 49), which connects with the 'throwntogetherness' Massey articulates. Situatedness is understood both physically and socio-spatially as part of an 'ecology' (Sihvonen and Cnossen, 2015: 59), and provides an additional lens through which to view Mona's engagement in the city. Sihvonen and Cnossesn establish the importance of recognising the Volkstrant building as 'more than a physical space' but also an 'ecology that linked cultural, alternative, creative and other types of spaces, both virtual and geographical, that reached all over town and far beyond' (2015: 56). Applying Soja's 'thirdspace' (1989) and Franck and Stevens' 'loose space' (2007) allows for viewing the city through an 'integrated view on how economic, social, artistic and recreational activities are not contained in separate categories, but how they all impact one another' (Sihvonen and Cnossen, 2015: 59).

This lens enables the recognition of the multiple scales of impact and effect, allowing the examination of sociological processes, relationships, materialities and linkages. Furthermore, ethnographer and historian James Clifford contends that 'a grasp of site-specificity has always been crucial for ethnographic fieldwork and textual ethnography' (2003: 30). In employing an ethnographic approach for this Mona Effect study, the significance of place and identity are intertwined with the research.

3.4 Methods

Based upon these methodological underpinnings, and an iterative process guided by fieldwork, literature analysis and the evolution of Mona's presence in the city; I developed three research questions for this thesis:

1. What conditions have facilitated Dark Mofo's impact?
2. What has the impact of Mona and Dark Mofo been on the cultural economy of Hobart?
3. What can be learnt from a cultural economy approach to researching urban regeneration?

With these questions in mind, I here describe how I applied the research methods to the field.

The primary methods used in this research were semi-structured interviews, participant observation, media reports and policy documentation. This section outlines how practices of ethnographic research were employed, alongside analysis of policy documents, council minutes, master plans, ABS datasets, industry press releases and local news coverage.

In Hall's research on urban regeneration, he argues that 'moments of civic transformation tend to be portrayed in overly simplistic terms as seamless, linear and unproblematic. The reality is much more messy' (Hall, 2004: 63). Ingold similarly contends that 'the creeping entanglements of life will always inevitable triumph over our attempts to box them in' (2008: 1809). My methodology aims to synthesise the mess, while remaining faithful to the nature of the intensely networked, looped and unresolved processes which sprawl throughout the city and connect multiple organisations, individuals, places and ideas. The ethnographic model I pursued through qualitative interviews and extended periods of fieldwork provided access to lived experiences, events, and transitions.

3.4.1 Participant Observation

As part of my ethnographic research, I participated in two fieldwork placements in the Dark Mofo festival office, located in the Old Mercury building in the Hobart CBD. In 2014 I was in the Dark Mofo office part time for 4 weeks during peak operational activity, and full time for the two-week duration of the festival (May 12-June 26). In 2015, I was present in a part time capacity for two weeks, and full time for six weeks (including the festival period). In both instances, I was an overt, full-time member of the office, with full membership of the group, and my status as a researcher was fully disclosed to all office staff. The Dark Mofo festival office was selected as the site of the fieldwork, as it is 'at the heart of it' (Willis,

1977: 4) both in terms of the research objectives and also the creative industry of Hobart. As discussed throughout this thesis, Dark Mofo and Mona have increasingly been positioned as central to the cultural economy of the state, and act as prime movers for generating new activity, connections and events.

Rendell understands the 'field' as a place to 'learn from/in', where the field is 'contingent, responsive, and depends on flowing, pervasive conditions, clouds, indeterminate edges' (2011: 4). This shifting 'field' of study is reflective of my experience in the office, which was a constantly expanding network of activity, engagement and interactions. As Dark Mofo is the central object of my research, the fieldwork provided an opportunity to see both the internal operations and strategies within the institution, as well as how these objectives become integrated and connected with the local cultural economy. Within this field, there was significant difference and developments between 2014 and 2015.

In my initial 2014 fieldwork placement, I sat in a corner desk in a shared office space in the room shared by logistics, operations and programming staff. For the first few days I sat in on meetings about staffing, hiring venues, licence requirements, press and media strategies, partnership arrangements, OH&S requirement, artist contracts, lighting and sound requirements, and strategies for ticket scalping. In between meetings, I offered to assist with minor administrative tasks, as a means to remain engaged with office conversation and familiarise myself with other staff members. As I entered timetables into the festival data base, or printed and folded programs for events, I chatted with members of staff and asked questions such as: how did you end up at Dark Mofo? Have you worked at other festivals before? Are you from Tasmania, or have you moved for this job? These conversations provided background insight into the running of the festival, including details of the social relations and personal experiences of staff involved.

I maintained a daily journal during this period, which included notes from meetings, observations from the office, clippings of media coverage, and (once the festival commenced) detailed records of the Dark Mofo events; including performances, audience numbers, the 'buzz' of the event, notes about food and beverage providers, and overheard conversations. At the conclusion of my first fieldwork placement, I reviewed all of these notes, and identified four concepts which I considered worthy of further research and engagement. These were:

1. A growing sense of a festival economy/ecology
2. Local 'embeddedness'

3. The role of collaborations
4. Community engagement

Here I include a brief example of my 2014 fieldwork notes, as indicative of the detail and insights the placement within the Dark Mofo team afforded me, and how I understood these experiences in relation to my growing understanding and attempts to define Mona's impact on the city. Fieldwork was part of an iterative process of relating unfolding developments in the city with theoretical frameworks, to develop research questions and methodological approaches. This entry is taken from the first week of Dark Mofo 2014, and particularly highlights the embedded nature of the festival projects, and the traceable nature of Dark Mofo's engagements in a city the size of Hobart.

> *One large scale public artwork which demonstrates the collaborative nature of the Dark Mofo festival was Washing River, by Yin Xiuzhen. In conjunction with Detatched (Penny Clive) and Pace Beijing, the contemporary Chinese artist was brought to Tasmania to create an iteration of her 1995 initial Washing River work; this time highlighting the pollution of the Derwent River by inviting the public to wash blocks of the frozen river water clean. The work required collaboration throughout all stages of production, presentation and participation, and demonstrates the wide reach of the festival in involving different groups.*
>
> *In the initial stages, the Production Manager for the project contacted the fire department to potentially assist with accessing and storing water from the Derwent. Once the fire services knew it was a Mona project, they were thrilled to be involved and offered the services of three of their trucks (these in the end could not be used, as the firemen were worried their soap suds would corrupt the river water). After the water collection stage, IMAS and UTAS were collaborators in the freezing process uing their expertise and facilities, and had previously been involved in test runs to determine the time of the freeze and thaw. Xiuzhen described the Sullivan's Cove artwork as the most successful iteration of the work, due to enthusiastic public engagement, as well as the stacking pattern by the production team which melted into a honeycomb pattern.*
>
> *All of this process was captured by local filmographers Matt Newton (water collection) and Mark Kuilenburg of 'Mark and Tom' productions (in-situ time-lapse).*

Mark and Tom (whose other clients have included the Falls Festival, boutique coffee shop Yellow Bernard and the RACT) edited together this footage to create video work for the Bond Store at TMAG. The Bond Store space was also used to critical acclaim in the 2013 Dark Mofo festival to exhibit Ian Burns' Afloat Asunder exhibition, also supported by Detached. For Washing River in particular, collaboration was essential to the success of the artwork, but also was financially dependent on the support of institutions and originations outside of Mona - which is true of many of the projects which fall under the Dark Mofo umbrella.

Washing River ran from Thurs 19th June, and was programmed to conclude either when the ice melted, on the final day of the festival. Both Xiuzhen's work and the lightwork Articulated Intersect were extended for an extra evening, which meant an extra full evening of pay for several security guards stationed at the wharf site. On the final evening at 10pm, while a free closing concert was held a the Brisbane Hotel, there were still queues to control the lever of the beams of light, and people milling about Washing River.

My position in the festival office in 2014 was met with generosity, but there was a natural suspicion of my presence as a researcher. I was included in meetings, but spent a lot of time piecing together snippets of information to build a comprehensive understanding, where other staff had robust knowledge of the inner workings and could move quickly in discussions from project to project. As the opening of the festival approached and pressures to deliver the event increased, I was progressively entrusted with information and included in (and witness to) open conversations and office jokes. This experience conforms to Atkinson and Hammersley's (1994) findings that a researcher's physical presence in a social and cultural environment provides significance access to valuable sociological information not available by other means (e.g. interviews). This familiarity provided unfiltered access to the workings of the office, principles driving the festival, objectives of Dark Mofo and relationships to external bodies. This familiarity was heightened by 2015, where my pre-established relationships with staff enabled my full inclusion in conversations, work-in-progress meetings, operational developments and programming discussions.

Developing personal relationships and trust with senior staff was particularly significant for gaining access to official business documents integral to shaping this thesis. Often this relationship-building occurred in interstitial spaces of the day: a conversation over

coffee in the tea room, walking to a festival site, or running into a team member at an event in Hobart. Pratt highlights the significance of ethnographic work which includes 'hanging out' (2008: 426) and Harvey et al. suggest this is important for understanding 'the social life of places and their interactions' (2012: 530). Attendance at Dark Mofo events, such as the Winter Feast, with members of the festival office were particularly significant for forming 'conviviality'. Pink (2008) contends that

> Reflexive attention to these experiences invites new understandings of other people's ways of being and knowing. Indeed, eating with others can be interpreted as a way of participating in their place-making practices, since the preparation and consumption of food might, like walking, be constitutive of place (Pink, 2008: 181).

This connects both with the inter-personal aspects of ethnography, as well as the role of food and beverages to the Dark Mofo and Mona experience that this research explores in in Chapter Six.

Participant observation of festival events also informed this research, and assisted in capturing and analysing how Dark Mofo generates a sense that 'something is in the air' in the city (Harvey et al., 2012: 530). Research by Quinn (2005) and Luckman et al. (2009) employ ethnographic methods to critically engage with festivals and their impacts. My participant observation was not comprehensive of all cultural activity in the city, as the scope and frequency of exhibition openings, festival activity and cultural programming extended beyond my capacity to attend. Even within the Dark Mofo festivals, overlapping and simultaneous programming prohibited all-inclusive attendance to events, which often had unbroken activity options for 24-hour periods.

The scope of the festival programming required a selective approach to the inclusion of events as part of my research. Therefore, for the purposes of addressing my key aims and research questions, events which were located in the CBD or waterfront, aligned with the City of Hobart and other partners, engaged directly with a city activation agenda, hosted in previously un- or under-utilised sites, and free to the public were privileged. These include the Winter Feast (2013, 2014, 2015), the Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival (2013, 2014, 2015), the purging and burning of the Ogoh Ogohs (2015, 2016), Dark Park (2015, 2016), and umbrella events with local arts and cultural organisations (2013, 2014 and 2015). I also include discussion of events which hang within the 'Future Hobart' (2014) agenda, as specific city planning and critical engagement with policy. During the two fieldwork

placements I maintained a notebook of activities and information, amounting to approximately 30 000 typed words. Supplementary and supporting evidence has been drawn from events and activities included in the summer MONA FOMA festival programs, to emphasise consistency in branding, approaches, and engagements and interactions with the broader cultural economy.

The process of collecting and analysing data from the field was co-constitutive and enmeshed in the research field (Sarantakos, 2013: 240). The information I gathered during fieldwork particularly placed me in an informed position to undertake focused interviews with Dark Mofo staff, and to identify individuals who were temporarily aligned with the festival for further research. In remaining open to the 'flowing' (Rendell, 2011) nature of both fieldwork and the Dark Mofo office's operations, areas I did not consider significant before being situated in the office context emerged as important avenues of research. During both fieldwork placements, questions arose regarding the festival economy, local networks, collaborations, community engagement, and city activation; and these in turn informed my research focus.

A potential limitation of being located within the Dark Mofo offices was the threat of developing a myopic or biased lens through which to examine the festivals impact. This possible methodological constraint was alleviated through my deliberate engagement with organisations and individuals outside the festival (in particular, multiple conversations and interviews with staff of the City of Hobart. The dynamic between the CoH and Mona is described in Chapter 5). As the first extensive study into the impact of Mona and Dark Mofo as it unfolded, this thesis has established an initial research framework, which can be extended into the future. Future academic work could examine the Mona Effect from an external perspective, using similar ethnographic methods, to examine the experience of organisations who work collaboratively with the festival (or are excluded from/select not to do so).

3.4.2 Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 33 participants, who were specifically selected for their significance in the local cultural ecology. These interviews were face-to-face, excluding one conducted via the phone with a participant who resides outside Hobart, and one via email (preferred by participant). Interviewees included local emerging artists, musicians, writers, senior bureaucrats, Dark Mofo festival management, arts managers, hotel

owners, designers, chefs, cafe owners, and council staff. Research was conducted in accordance with the ethical requirements and standards of the University of Tasmania's Human Research Ethics Committee (approval code: H0013003).

3.4.3 Selection of participants

Interview participants were predominately selected for their professional involvement in the local cultural economy. The majority of participants were readily identified as central actors through their place of work, either at Mona or as part of an organisation which directly interacts with Mona and Dark Mofo. For those outside of government or Mona roles, I particularly targeted individuals who sat across multiple networks of activity and had interactions with multiple disciplines or micro-communities within the cultural sector. These 'significant actors' (Bryman, 2012: 294) were primarily identified through their public and recurring presence at junctures of cultural activity. Appendix B provides an overview of participants, with basic demographic details, and a brief description of how they relate to the cultural ecology of the city. The roles of the participants also demonstrate how I have followed a relational approach, which Desmond contends 'incorporates fully into the ethnographic sample at least two types of actors or agencies occupying different positions within the social space and bound together in a relationship of mutual dependence or struggle' (Desmond, 2014: 554).

The selection of participants was also assisted and facilitated by my own 'formal and informal knowledge of the city' (Wynne et al., 1998: 846) and active engagement in the local cultural community both as participant observer/ethnographer, and as an active and engaged resident of the Hobart. Miles (2007) suggests that ethnography, following the Chicago School, is significant for offering 'a less reductive image of a city's environment' (2007: 16). As discussed in Section 6.1, being local to Hobart also offered the advantage of understanding local references, histories, places, community fables, and 'in-jokes' which participants referenced in interview conversations.

The relatively small size of Hobart similarly assisted with the identification of key figures, and my experience resonated with Harvey et al.'s findings that,

> …the knowledge and personal networks of key individuals become particularly resonant in understanding the dynamics and evolution of the broad creative economy. Indeed, the dispersed nature of such regions often mean that a few key

> individuals are particularly visible and thus the weight of what they deliver becomes more significant within these local contexts (2012: 532)

The Mona Effect research project has gained a certain level of interest among Hobart residents, and I was frequently introduced in social settings by friends, colleagues and cultural actors as 'Miriam who is working on the Mona Effect project'. This occurred at pubs, birthday parties, meetings, and most frequently at cultural events. These informal introductions often led to robust discussions, with individuals voluntarily detailing either their personal involvement with Mona or their perception of the museum's impact, and material from these conversations was recorded in field notes. Two interview participants were introduced to me in this manner, and volunteered to be formally interviewed so their experience could become part of the research. These experiences reflect the small interconnected community of Hobart, the informal settings in which many exchanges and connections take place, as well as the general enthusiasm and desire to discuss Mona's impact and the role of culture in Hobart that I encountered when seeking out interview participants.

These informal meetings assisted me to identify people who sat outside of an established professional sphere with a public profile, but were deeply involved in cultural activity in the city and directly connected to Mona. Gibson and Kong (2005) argue that in normative narratives of cultural regeneration, 'creativity is only generally discussed where it is possible for it to be harnessed in productive ways for economic growth', and cultural pursuits which do not explicitly adhere to economic stimulation, or expressly defy it, 'gain scant mention' (2005: 552). As such, I was eager to include individual and group experiences of the Mona Effect which might be overlooked in policy or public discussion. This sentiment is echoed by Gielen et al., who promote research into cultural regeneration which connects 'projects to local bottom-up initiatives' and 'connect new cultural investments to existing local buildings or characteristics' (2015: 61) in order to assess and communicate a cohesive experience of the cultural sector. Equally, Goldbard (2006) promoted linking under-researched knowledge from arts practitioners to policy and scholarship, and Peck and Theodore, in their scholarship on public policy, highlight the importance and difficulty of 'penetrating below the official line, to the "hidden transcripts"' (2012: 47), to produce robust and multi-faceted accounts.

Interview participants were also identified through their public engagement in seminars, talks and panels, as well as the Mona Effect seminars. From these presentations and

discussions, I contacted several speakers who raised new approaches, points of view, and knowledge to the discussion. When formally interviewing these participants, many of my questions were directly influenced by their public statements. These interviews allowed me to further probe, from an informed perspective, the topics raised in public, as well as formally acknowledge the participant's contribution, expertise and insight.

My methods for selecting interview participants aligned with approaches of 'snowballing' sampling. I initially sought out participants who were central to the unfolding actions (e.g Leigh Carmichael, director of Dark Mofo), and while I did not directly request recommendations for future participants from these interviews, people frequently suggested that I should 'get in touch with him' or 'she would be really interesting to talk to' during the course of our conversation. As several of my questions asked about local networks, community and collaborations, the interview transcripts were peppered with references with local businesses, artists, administrators, chefs, Mona staff and other key actors. In reviewing these transcripts multiple times throughout my candidature, I could identify names which were frequently mentioned by interview participants, and then conduct some preliminary research into the relevance of their inclusion in my study. This was particularly beneficial as my candidature progressed, and my research question evolved based upon unfolding activities in the city, as I could return to initial interviews and seek our new participants who were not as central to my research agenda at the outset, but I could retrospectively identify as significant actors. As the chapters of the thesis emerged, I ensured I had adequate representation of interview participants across the fields of cultural policy and administration, urban planning and regeneration, food and beverage industry and grassroots cultural participation. In this respect, interview participants grew more targeted as the research progressed, as I became increasingly familiar with both the local cultural economy, and the questions directing my research.

While not statistically representative of the make-up of the cultural economy of the city (partly due to the lack of available data of this nature for the city of Hobart), Appendix A demonstrates how participants represent the different research areas of this thesis, as well as capturing data to reflect experiences across gender and age demographics. My respondents were all individuals who have been engaged with Mona or Dark Mofo in some capacity and have some prominence within the cultural economy. While this 'snowballing' approach produced interviewees who frequently referred to each other - demonstrating a robust saturation of the data and the strength of the research methods employed here – there are also limitations in this method. This closely networked web of interview participants also exposes

a constraint in the information collected, in failing to engage with voices that have not been beneficiaries of the current structure and dynamics of the sector. For future research, it would be appropriate to seek out people from diverse backgrounds in order to ascertain the barriers and difficulties people face in participating in the cultural economy (or discover reasons they do not wish to do so). As this project aimed to establish a meaning for, and framework for understanding the Mona Effect – it seemed appropriate to pursue interview participants who were directly engaged with Mona and Dark Mofo, in order provide preliminary data which can be build upon into the future.

3.4.4 Conducting the Interviews

The interviews were conducted at a place of nominated convenience by the participants, which included workspaces, local cafes, a public park, and a private residence. Given the small scale of Hobart, several of the interviews conducted in semi-public spaces were briefly interrupted by interactions with acquaintances who happened to be passing through the same site. On one occasion, the interview participant was able to point to two people in the cafe as part of the answer to a question posed. This is reflective of the relatively small size of Hobart and the frequency of chance encounters (a recurring theme in many of the interviews).

Participants were initially asked to introduce themselves with name, role, and employment background, which situated them within a wider cultural network in relation to an education, workplace, and wider environmental context. This also served to make the speaker feel confident and relaxed (a method advocated by Kvale, 1996). These introductory questions often revealed information about previous places of work and connections to organisations which were directly linked to their current profession, and therefore provided context for the semi-structured interview questions which followed. The questions for each participant varied due to their own areas of expertise and experience, but were broadly guided by six broad themes in an interview schema. Following my fieldwork in the Dark Mofo office I developed a more detailed and specific list of questions (Appendix C). As participants were selected based on their role in the local cultural economy, they were ‘experts’ of their own experiences and could answer the questions confidently and thoroughly, without requiring encouragement or prompting for me.

Before interviewing participants, I conducted background research to established key details about their place of work/arts practice/policy/organisation, in order to conduct the interviews from an informed position. As the majority of participants had an online presence (either relating to their personal practice or the website and information of the organisation for which they worked), this material was widely accessible and provided me with initial insights of how the participant connected with the local cultural economy. This allowed me to ask informed questions, jolt memories, and to create linkages between new information provided in conversation and knowledge of their prior experiences. This preliminary research contextualised participants' answers, and assisted in allowing the semi-structured interviews to maintain flow, as I was able to follow the narrative when the participant skipped across multiple non-linear references. Researching participants prior to the interview assisted in maintaining a tight interview process, as the majority of interviewees were on constricted schedules, often managing multiple jobs, roles and responsibilities, and could not afford to dedicate extended time to the research (this is reflective of cultural industries employment patterns. See Oakley, 2009).

3.4.5 Interview Responses

The majority of participants had prior knowledge of the Bilbao Effect or Mona Effect concepts, and several expressed a familiarity with the specific research project. Participants were also provided with an information sheet before the commencement of the interview which contextualised the research. As a result, participants frequently tailored their responses to connect directly back to Mona, rather than answering questions in more broad and general terms. This specificity of response was of great assistance to my research, but acted to provide an overly linear and teleological account of actions and events. In response, my interview method adapted to asking more probing questions in order to trace through the genesis of projects, activities and meetings which resulted in a final collaboration or alignment with Mona or Dark Mofo.

The language of interview participants (as well as of speakers at public cultural events) also demonstrated the extent to which Mona has become part of the Tasmanian zeitgeist. Frequently used phrases and vocabulary included 'pre-Mona' 'post-Mona' and 'Monafication', which have become part of local colloquial expression, alongside the oft cited 'Mona Effect'. The power of language was also highlighted as the research project developed. After several Mona Effect seminars, university talks and public programs, words

such as ‘embeddedness’ ‘cultural ecology’ and ‘symbiotic’ became frequent additions to interviews. This is not to suggest that participants were ‘parroting’ phrases back, but that these terms were shaping the ways in which people considered Mona’s impact in the city, and these descriptors resonated with their experiences. The embeddedness of Mona’s impact in the language and lives of local residents conforms to the cultural ecology approach undertaken in this thesis, following Ingold’s understanding of ethnography as ‘the study of the life of lines’ (2008: 1807), where the lines of my research are interlinked with the lines and language of Hobart’s cultural community.

Among all participants there was a high level of critical thinking, reflexivity, active engagement with debates surrounding cultural policy and funding, and considered analysis of local events. The majority of questions posed to interview participants were focused upon their direct experience, asking for timelines, processes of development, interactions, networks and future activities, and followed an investigative approach. When asked for opinions relating to Mona’s impact, the answers were personal and within participants’ own frame of reference, rather than speculative or speaking on behalf of others. Positionality was also recognised and reflected upon by several participants, who distinguished personal answers from professional ones, acknowledging that their answer depended on the role and viewpoint from which they were responding. While participants were candid and exceptionally generous in their responses, on several occasions, in both interview situations as well as informal conversations about Mona’s impact in the city with seminar participants or at public cultural events, individuals expressed frustrations of Mona activities, government funding, changes to policy, or City of Hobart actions, but asked for their comments to be keep ‘off the record.’ Due to the small size of Hobart and public prominence of many of the interview participants, it was infeasible to de-identify these comments. For some participants, there was a reticence to speak candidly on record about concerns over Mona’s impact, the City of Hobart’s activities, or government funding. However, I was able to take note of these concerns and frustrations, and explore the concepts raised within an academic framework (for example, the discussion in Chapter 10.5.2 over the Winter Feasts impact on public grass areas in Salamanca emerged out of discussion with one interview participant).

As established in qualitative research (Warren et al., 2003), the issue of valuable information being revealed after the recorder was switched off was a frequent dilemma. Participants seemed to relax after the formal interview was completed, had ordered a second coffee, or suddenly remembered a link to expand upon a previously discussed topic. Similarly, participants often launched into discussion as soon as I met them, before I was able

to set up the interview and provide them with required information sheet and ethics form. The loss of this data was largely mitigated by virtue of the conversation being related to public information (policy documents, news reports, exhibitions) or on two occasions, follow up interviews to pursue further questions.

3.4.6 Networks of Research

In addition to the two concentrated fieldwork placements in the Dark Mofo office, my 'field' of research also included attendance at gallery and exhibition openings several times a month during the course of my candidature (Bett Gallery, Contemporary Art Tasmania, Despard, Colville Gallery, Constance ARI, Handmark Gallery, Tasmanian Museum and Art Museum, The Arts Factory, Mona) and frequent visits to Mona and the Mona Markets (MoMa), as well as the many local cafes, artist studios, workshops and community art spaces which helped to inform this thesis. The events themselves were constituted of actions, networks and connections, as well as a site of informal conversations with individuals who are part of the cultural economy of the city. Material from these conversations and events were recorded in field notes.

As part of the Mona Effect research team, the bi-annual Mona Effect seminars were integral to this project, particularly in providing a space for access to, and discussion with, management across multiple sectors of the cultural economy.[22] These opportunities for interaction with senior staff from established institutions enabled subsequent interviews to be scheduled, informed by previous discussions. Mangia et al. promote a methodological approach which combines the analysis of internal documents, performance results and interviews with top and middle management (2011: 102), while UNESCO advises that festivals 'should be evaluated on multiple levels to allow for the inclusion of perspectives of all/most stakeholders' (UNSECO, 2015: 29). The Mona Effect seminars facilitated an entry point into 'top-down' cultural production and support, which might otherwise have been a difficult sphere to gain entry into.

Public seminars, discussions, symposiums and meetings relating to the Mona effect and the local cultural economy provided further layers of information and analysis for my research. During my candidature, I attended numerous public talks, including the Altered State seminar (Monash University and Department of State Growth), the Plimsoll Inquiry

[22] These relationships were largely borne from the established Linkage partnership with MONA, DEDTA, Arts Tas, TMAG, Tourism Tasmania, Port Arthur Historic Site, Ten Days on the Island, HCC and the GCC.

(UTAS), ‘Clever Cities, Creating Spaces: Igniting Investment, Jobs and Growth’ with Charles Landry (UTAS and Department of State Growth), ‘Tasmania Our Place, Our Future-Culture and Arts’ (UTAS), ‘Tasmanian - The Tipping Point?’ (UTAS), Tasmanian Creative Industries meetings (TCIT), a public meeting for the launch of the three major political parties’ state cultural industries policies (hosted by Ten Days on the Island) and Arts Forum (Brand Tasmania). All of these events were widely attended, demonstrating the public interest in both Mona and the cultural economy of the state. The enthusiasm of the government to invite Charles Landry to the state as an ‘international authority on the use of imagination and creativity in urban change’ (UTAS Events, 2014) similarly highlights local support and interest in ‘creative cities’. Beyond the symbolic power of these events in demonstrating value, the robust discussion in public seminars provided a further source of information for my research. Several interview participants were identified through their participation in public seminars, and I could extend upon their public input to the discussion. Transcriptions of two of the public talks were made available, and have been quoted in this thesis (with permission from the participants). I also participated in the ‘Cultural and Creative Activity Satellite Accounts Roundtable’ and was introduced as a ‘Mona researcher’. This event was hosted by the Department of Economic Development, Tourism and the Arts, and the session was part of a discussion regarding the Australian Bureau of Statistics methodologies within the Centre for Culture and Recreation Statistics.

3.4.7 Analysing the Interviews

Directly following an interview, I noted down the key ideas and narratives raised in the discussion. This allowed for the interviews to remain fresh in my mind, as I would often wait for a group of interviews to build up and then transcribe in one concentrated work period. The majority of interviews were transcribed by me, with three completed by a local professional transcription service. The transcribed text is true to the speaker’s words, but direct quotes used here have had ‘um’s’ removed for a cleaner account, while maintaining fidelity to the original meaning. Transcribing the interviews was part of the iterative analysis process, as typing out participant responses provided me with an additional layer of engagement and understanding of the material.

The writing ‘in’ proposed by Mansvelt and Berg which promotes ‘located and situated knowledge’ (2005: 339) provided a process for analysing and coding interview content, and then drawing upon emergent themes to inform subsequent interview questions

and avenues of research. The analysis of interview transcriptions and fieldwork notes was both inductive and iterative. Firstly, I undertook a preliminary read through of the transcriptions, making note of phrases which resonated with my experience in the Dark Mofo offices (e.g. Mona, festival, economy, value, urban development), as well as scanning the content for other repeated terms. I then started a more detailed analysis, and recorded the key themes of each interview in an overview, to identify overlaps and recurring spaces of knowledge, experience and understanding. I highlighted key quotes and references which corresponded with, or provided an alternative understanding to, evidence gathered from policy documents, news reports, or other interviews. Throughout my candidature, I continually revisited the transcribed texts during the writing process, to ensure I was freshly engaged with the material, as well as examining how emerging findings interacted with previous interviews. I created a synopsis of each interview, and then mapped out hand-drawn diagrams of the connections between interviews, academic literature and preliminary fieldwork evidence I had gathered. This was undertaken manually rather than using coding software, as I found the hands-on approach of colour-coding and physically linking quotes, concepts, and different sources as evidence assisted me to process the information and engage directly with the material.

As my interview participants were selected for their specific experience, I expected to be able to thematically group the responses by profession and relationship (e.g. food and Mona, independent artists, social value, tourist impact, Mona brand power). However, it became evident that these themes cut horizontally through disciplines and professions, rather than vertically separated sectors. In revisiting and revising the data, my research process was iterative and informed by the content which arose through fieldwork, which was particularly significance relation to the question of 'cultural value'. The difficulty of measuring and conveying the impact of Mona became evident as I reviewed interview responses, and subsequently guided my research agenda.

The flexibility and non-fixity of drafting and writing afforded the space for evolution in avenues of inquiry, and active response to new data. As MacDowell notes, a significant challenge of cultural measurement is the way that 'cultural activities are often complex and unfold in non-linear, unpredictable ways, posing challenging for evaluation…' (2015: 4). Through the flexibility and non-fixity of ethnography, my research followed a continual evolution and feedback loop, where the process of data collection and analysis then informed future interviews and directions of research. The analysis of interviews was conducted in tandem with ongoing fieldwork, both within the Dark Mofo festival timeframes, and more

broadly as both participant and observer in cultural activity in the city. Interview responses directed how I viewed unfolding activity relating to Mona and the cultural economy of the city, and new developments or awareness of connections between activities informed by selection of subsequent interview participants.

In constantly reviewing interview transcriptions and notes against new developments (or in relation to content and activity I previously viewed as peripheral to my research), I was able to remain engaged with the material, and allowed the analysis to work productively with the unpredictability of researching an unfolding effect. The interview transcripts therefore had multiple layers of notations and marginalia, as emergent narratives became more prevalent in my research. This was particularly evident in the case of the Macquarie Point development (as outlined in Chapter Five and discussed in Chapter Ten), which initially seemed like a side-note to my research, but became a growing focus as my candidature progressed. Material from interviews regarding this brownfield site therefore became increasingly important on reflection, highlighting the importance of continually returning to the interview transcriptions to re-evaluate the content in light of new developments and theoretical lenses.

3.5 Textual Evidence

In addition to public seminars, public documents have provided content for this research and stimulated new avenues of enquiry. Policy for the HCC, GCC, Department of State Growth, and Tourism Tasmania, and cultural industries policies for the three major political parties in the lead up to the 2014 state election have been analysed, as well as press releases, public statements, reports, programs and minutes from meetings from Mona, the HCC, Arts Tasmania and multiple cultural institutions (including TMAG, Contemporary Arts Tasmania, Ten Days on the Island).

In his thesis on the Ten Days on the Island Festival, Harwood acknowledges the significance of living within the environment he was researching, for collecting 'relevant media articles, ephemera and secondary commentaries' (2011: 255). Being placed in Hobart afforded me daily access to local news, events and public discussion, both directly and tangentially related to Mona. The inclusion of media reports does not represent a comprehensive content analysis of Mona and the cultural industries coverage (the quantity of material relating to Mona alone could adequately justify an avenue of PhD enquiry), but rather provides a wider layer of material against which to situate interview and fieldwork

material. The inclusion of media coverage is particularly significant for Mona, whose marketing department is larger than its festival team, and has arguably 'completely broken the mould of how you talk about and market a museum' (Forge, interview, 2015). Media coverage of Mona has been taken from local, national and international sources.

Social media also provided a rich source of material, both from Mona promotional output and public feedback. Publicly available feedback and comments from the Dark Mofo festival added a 'value' understanding to raw attendance numbers. There are significant limitations surrounding this data, particularly that the responders are self-selecting (only extremely enthusiastic and extremely negative responders felt compelled to write on the page, and contribution is limited to people engaged with social media). However, social media users are the primary and target demographic of the festival/museum (Mona, 2012: 16), which has an incredibly focused social and marketing presence. The Mona and Dark Mofo Facebook and Twitter pages make clear the networked and collaborative nature of the festival, through their output and public feedback. While not statistically representative, the use of social media communications as evidence assists in articulating the value Mona has added to the lives of Hobart citizens in explicit, personal, considered and emotionally engaged communication. Social media also provides visual and audio-visual material, which captures the dynamic nature of both the Dark Mofo festivals and Hobart's cultural activity more generally.

3.6 Writing Up/Writing In/Writing Through

The process of writing 'up' my notes was iterative, and mutually constitutive with researching. Drafts and writing trials were developed throughout my candidature, whereby I developed accounts of Mona's impact through field notes, interview analysis, a diary of cultural events I attended, newspaper clippings, photographs taken around the city, and strategic documents. Following an ethnographic approach of 'writing through', the analysis of this material was developed hermeneutically over time, through a process of reading, analysing, writing, re-reading, re-analysing, and re-writing. As Picken (2010) explains the 'test or aim' or ethnography as residing the ability to produce an account, which conveys a 'uniquely adequate account of the given situation' (Latour, 2005: 114), and as such 'writing constitutes a large part of what ethnographers do' (Picken, 2010: 132). The process of writing

was a means of bringing meaning to light, and developing a structure to give shape to the research's findings.

In addition to this process of writing 'through', reflecting back on my writing from the first year of candidature, it was apparent that my academic voice was lacking in confidence. I was attempting to convey a disembodied and detached positivist objectivity, while engaging with qualitative ethnographical research practices. Mansvelt and Berg argue that a third-person narrative over-simplifies people, places and actions into a 'one-dimensional and simple thing' called 'the research' (2005: 336). Instead, they propose a situated and post-structuralist approach of 'writing **in** (located, partial and situated knowledge' rather than 'writing-*up* (distanced, universal, and impartial)' (Mansvelt and Berg, 2005: 229, emphasis in original). Following this approach, I have avoided the exclusive use of the third-person narrative by including my own voice in the discussion and analysis. Writing 'in' challenges a singular dominant narrative of universal truth, and enables multiple voices to be simultaneously explored and multiple experience of Mona and Dark Mofo's impact to be described.

Conclusion

This chapter has established the research framework of my thesis, based upon a review of the relevant literature and preliminary fieldwork. This inductive and reflexive process of developing research questions was facilitated through ethnographic practice and recognition of critical place-based inquiry. The methodologies and approaches raised in this chapter, in relation to measuring cultural value, conceptualising place, and exploring a cultural economy, carry throughout this thesis as guiding themes and principles. The following chapter begins to apply the methodologies explored here in establishing the field of inquiry, and the themes which emerged from ethnographic research. I introduce Dark Mofo as a research object, and establish ways in which its impact can be examined, evaluated and articulated.

Chapter Four: Making Dark Mofo

In this chapter, I provide context for addressing the research question with an overview of the Hobart landscape. Moving temporally through the city, I establish a portrait of Hobart 'pre-Mona', and describe the environment which facilitated the impacts of Mona and its associated festivals. I provide justification for my selection of the winter festival (Dark Mofo) over its summer counterpart (MONA FOMA). I then position Dark Mofo in Hobart, in relation to the contours of cultural, arts and government organisations. Dark Mofo emerged as a central research subject concurrently with my candidature, and I was in a position be to engaged with the unfolding, shifting and iterative nature of the city-based festivals.

I then trace the genesis of Dark Mofo and its relationship to the summer MONA FOMA festivals, and to the Salamanca Arts Centre. I demonstrate how the latent possibility of the relationship between the city, its residents and Mona is based in co-constitutive interactions, built upon Hobart's robust pre-existing cultural identity, close networks and governance structures, and how these relationships have subsequently evolved. After sketching the conditions for Mona's entanglement, I unpack initial evidence of an 'embryonic' Mona Effect (Franklin et al., 2012: 7), before specifically exploring the impacts of Dark Mofo and the festival's relationship to the city in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

4.1 State of the Art

Journalistic representations of the Mona effect have frequently presented a narrative of Hobart as a transformed cultural backwater, enlivened by the museum's arrival. For example, *The New York Times* wrote,

> To the shock of Tasmanian's patricians, some of whom can trace their lineage to the early settlers, and to the surprise of most of the island's 500,000 largely working-class residents, the Museum of Old and New Art has been a huge success (Perlez, 2015).

State government marketing similarly promoted an ex nihilo argument of 'cultural revolution' in the wake of Mona's arrival (Discover Tasmania, 2015), and media commentary has cited the 'cultural renaissance' of Hobart (eg. Raabus and Goddard, 2013; Percival, 2013 and Taylor, 2016). Here I seek to destabilise this 'cultural backwater' narrative (Reid, 2013: n.p.) by providing evidence of Hobart's cultural legacy.

Tasmania has a robust history of engagement with, participation in, and production of arts and culture. Research conducted by the Australia Council (2014) found that Tasmanians had the highest rate of creative participation (53%) in the country, and the third highest rate of receptive participation (94%)[23] (Australia Council, 2014:1). This statistic gains further weight when placed in the context of Tasmania's adult functional literacy rates, which are the lowest in the country (ABS, 2008). Additionally, ABS statistics reveal that 32% of the Tasmanian population aged 15 years and over 'participated in at least one cultural activity in the 12 months prior to interview', which places the state slightly above the national average of 27% (ABS, 2011).

Prior to Mona's arrival, the cultural landscape of Hobart was constituted of the public spaces including the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (TMAG, established 1843), Salamanca Arts Centre (SAC, est. 1967), Contemporary Arts Spaces Tasmania (CAST, est. 1988)[24]; private galleries including Bett, Criterion, Colville, Nolan, and Handmark, and artist-run spaces Inflight (later renamed Constance) and 6A. Hobart is also home to the Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra (est. 1948), the Theatre Royal (est. 1837) and the School of Arts as part of the University of Tasmania. In Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, I demonstrate how this established cultural heritage assisted to facilitate Mona's growth and development in Tasmania.

Interview participants placed emphasis on the importance of recognising the strength of Hobart's cultural identity, commenting that Hobart has traditionally 'boasted' about its output and calibre of galleries in the visual arts sphere (Edwards, interview, 2015) and was known nationally and internationally for the depth of the arts and literary community (Miller, interview, 2015). This is reflected in the City of Hobart's description of the city as having a 'well-deserved reputation as a centre for quality cultural and creative products, activities and experiences' (CoH, 2013a: 12*)*. I argue that the impact of Mona has not been a cultural

[23] Receptive participation is defined as 'attendance at live events/art galleries plus reading literature' while creative participation is established to mean 'actively making art or doing an arts activity oneself' (ABS, 2014: 3)

[24] Contemporary Arts Tasmania emerged from three pre-existing organisations: Chameleon (Hobart), Arthouse (Launceston) and the Tasmanian National Exhibition Touring Support (NETS) agency.

awakening, but rather an increased local confidence, and legitimisation of a pre-existing creative ethos from an interstate and international gaze.

The development of the Ten Days on the Island festival in 2001, as overseen by then Premier Jim Bacon, was cited in research interviews and forums as setting a precedent for the strong cultural identity and festival enthusiasm in the state. Bacon described the great 'concentration of people involved in creative activities' as a common trait of island communities (Bacon, 2001: 41). Rosemary Miller, CEO of the Salamanca Art Centre acknowledged the significance of government support for the festival raising the state's profile, and establishing national and international links in the cultural sector (interview, 2015). The Ten Days website similarly describes how the festival 'promotes Tasmania's innovative creative and resourceful character and unique cultural identity' (Ten Days, 2015a). This example provides a precedent of successful pre-existing relationship between government and festivals, as well as between cultural identity and local community, which preceded the arrival of Mona.

4.2 Dark Mofo

The Mona festivals serve as case studies for this research project, as they embody a formal connection between the City of Hobart and the Museum of Old and New Art. MONA FOMA and Dark Mofo officially bring Mona into the city, and create a link between Berriedale and Hobart where the impacts and effects of the museum can be explored in an urban setting. This research strategy is driven by both the specific urban agenda the Dark Mofo festivals instigated, and the lower levels of regeneration impact in the locality of Glenorchy (Booth et al, 2017). According to David Walsh:

> When I first opened Mona, I expected to see some services (coffee shops, restaurants etc.) cropping up in the area. I don't know why that hasn't happened, except that there may be some zoning issues, but Local Pizza recently opened in Claremont, and it is exactly the sort of business I was hoping for. I hope it is the vanguard of more quality, consumer-oriented business to come. So, start selling stuff in the Glenorchy region, I'm buying (Walsh, 2015).[25]

[25] Local Pizza is a popular privately owned woodfired pizza business, in close proximity to Mona. In January 2018 the owners opened a new sister store, Ti Ama, in the Salamanca waterfront precinct.

The City of Glenorchy has seen some significant physical developments which occurred concurrently with Mona's arrival, including capital cultural regeneration projects. The refurbishment of the Moonah Arts Centre (MAC) has been described as the 'perfect compliment' to Mona (ABC, 2015), and the Glenorchy Art and Sculpture Park (GASP) sits directly across the bay from the museum. In additional to Local Pizza in Claremont, new eateries in the Glenorchy municipality include upmarket restaurant St Albi, cafe Salt, and the Tex-Mex pantry. However, the predominant focus for the development of infrastructure, business, night-time economy, cultural production and audience experiences has been concentrated within the Hobart CBD and waterfront precinct.

4.2.1 Describing the Dark

Dark Mofo is a fortnight-long mid-winter festival, with the tagline, 'Celebrate the Dark Through Large-Scale Public Art, Food, Music, Film, Light + Noise' (Dark Mofo, 2013a). The festival is grounded in pagan celebration and ritual (Franklin, 2014: 174), and emphasises the environmental particularities of Hobart's cold and dark winter period. The overall experience and events which constitute the festivals are constantly shifting and evolving, and are largely ephemeral, but the festival is consistently aesthetically distinctive in its red and black typography and branding, and use of fire and light at events. Dark Mofo physically takes over the city of Hobart for two weeks, with activity largely concentrated in the Hobart CBD and waterfront precinct, as well as scattered around the state for satellite performances and events. The festival transposes the distinctive qualities of Dionysian excess, embodiment and irreverence into the city (Franklin, 2014), with the addition of fire and large-scale art.

The 'darkness' of Dark Mofo has been examined through the lens of the Tasmanian Gothic in media descriptions and cultural analysis (e.g. Fitzgibbon, 2012; Kidd, 2016; Ross, 2014). However, the Tasmanian Gothic carries a particular and fixed historical atmosphere, which is inconsistent with the forward looking festival, which incorporates ancient mythology and emergent practices. As Rachel Edwards, a publisher of Tasmanian writing, has argued, 'the Tasmanian gothic is a stereotype, and often on perpetuated by outsiders' (as quoted in Watts, 2018). While Dark Mofo inarguably draws upon specific and located Tasmanian histories, in Chapters 6 and 9 I demonstrate how these narratives are equally informed by rituals concerning the winter solstice, and draw upon global festivals which celebrate the interplay of light in darkness.

In the inaugural event program, Dark Mofo director Leigh Carmichael described,

> We will celebrate links between ancient and contemporary mythology, humans and nature, religious and secular traditions, darkness and light, birth and death, fire, destruction and renewal. During the week of the winter solstice, the festival will deliver a range of performances, celebrations and feasts from within the heart of the Tasmanian winter (Dark Mofo, 2013a: n.p.).

In the following years, the festival has grown in scale and ambition, but retained the central curatorial concept of celebrating darkness and light. This framing of celebrating 'heart of the Tasmanian winter' includes aspects of the Tasmanian gothic, but refuses a reductionist Tasmanian imaginary, though incorporating the ancient and the emergent in the festival of darkness and light. Since 2013, the festival has continued to present experimental and innovative projects which draw visitors and residents into the Hobart winter night. The event transforms the city and aims to transform those who participate in it (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

In 2016, Itchy-O, a Denver based 'demonic marching band' evocatively described their experience of performing at Dark Mofo:

> we knew to expect there would be the kind of compelling and challenging acts we love; however, the entire city of Hobart was taken over by art encounters curated to undermine all expectations (luminous large-scale installation art, luscious and brooding film, a bacchanalian Tasmanian feast, blazing fire sculptures) … Dark Mofo festival is truly quixotic. From the food to the art to the music and performances, it is an extraordinary sensory overload and an exquisitely curated ode to light in the dark winter night (Itchy-O, in Nicholl, 2016).

By 2016, after three years of festival growth, Dark Mofo had become part of the national psyche, and was described by youth-oriented news outlet *Pedestrian* as 'nationally and globally renowned for being a badass, cold-as-hell, grim spectacle of art, music, and everything in between' (Tyeson, 2016). Based on the success of the 2013-2016 festivals, in July 2016 a funding arrangement was reached between the state government and Dark Mofo to support the winter event with an annual $2.1 million (Smith, 2016a).

In tracing the development of the city-based festivals, it is significant to establish the relationship between Mona and Dark Mofo. As Dark Mofo director Leigh Carmichael explained in a media interview,

> Dark Mofo is a project of Mona, so there are many similarities in the overall approach. The main difference is that Dark Mofo is a large-scale public art project based in the city as an ephemeral experience, and Mona is permanent and operates all year round (Red Bull Music, 2016).

The relationship between the 'permanent' Mona identity, and transient Dark Mofo experience is particularly resonant in the dark and nonconformist branding strategy, and emphasis on multisensory experiences (Franklin, 2014). Ethnographer and historian James Clifford conceptualises museums as contact zones, where the site is a space of 'contestation and collaborative activity' (2003: 35). This understanding of the museum as co-constituted by its public is extended in the Dark Mofo experience, which particularly draws upon public engagement and the landscapes of the city to generate activity and execute events, but relies upon the overall approach of Mona.

The justification for selecting this festival over the summer MONA FOMA or other Mona events is two-fold. Firstly, the winter festival's connections with major sponsors, program partners, media partners and food and beverage partners is far greater in scope than MONA FOMA. The collaborative nature of the mid-winter festival lends itself to a cultural economy study where the impact of Mona's outreach can be explored. The second reason for selecting the winter festival is the citywide experience it stimulates. Through extensive venue partnerships, the 'Paint the Town Red' campaign (see Chapter Six), and an objective to activate the traditionally quiet winter period, Dark Mofo is more outward looking in its strategic city wide stimulation than its summer counterpart.

4.2.2 Dark Mofo Objectives

The original proposal for the Mona Darkest Night Arts Festival (since re-named Dark Mofo) has four primary objectives and opportunities:

- To leverage and capitalise the success of the Mona brand
- To capitalise on the Mona Major Exhibition opening

- Use our unique winter environment as a competitive advantage
- Brand Hobart as a vibrant and active city in winter (Mona, 2012: 3)

The Darkest Night business plan emphasises 'city activation' as a means to 'brand Hobart as a vibrant and active city in winter' (Mona, 2012:3) and leave a legacy of activating the 'city and businesses during the quiet winter months' (Mona, 2012: 6). In presenting this evidence of Dark Mofo's city activation agenda, it is significant to note the context of the business plan's development, which was compiled in order to attain government funding. Dark Mofo director Leigh Carmichael explained his personal aims for the festival as about making the city 'more liveable, more exciting', and how 'the success is more around the artistic side than the financial side, but that's me personally' (Carmichael, interview, 2015). In contrast to the 'competitive advantage' in the business plan, Carmichael balanced an acknowledgement of the importance of making 'good use' of public money with a broader philosophy of value, asking 'how do you put a value on - a dollar value - on positive energy' (interview, 2015).

This business plan advocated for further activity throughout the winter months, presenting this period as an 'untapped tourism opportunity for Hobart and Tasmania' (Mona, 2012: 24). This proposition aligns with Jan Gehl's analysis of activity in the city, and the potential of Hobart as a 'festival city' (Gehl, 2010: 45). The graphic below (Image 3) visually details the event calendar of the city, which 'shows that Hobart is an active city nearly all year around. The exception is winter time when it can be hard to lure people onto the streets but certainly not impossible' (Gelh, 2010: 45).

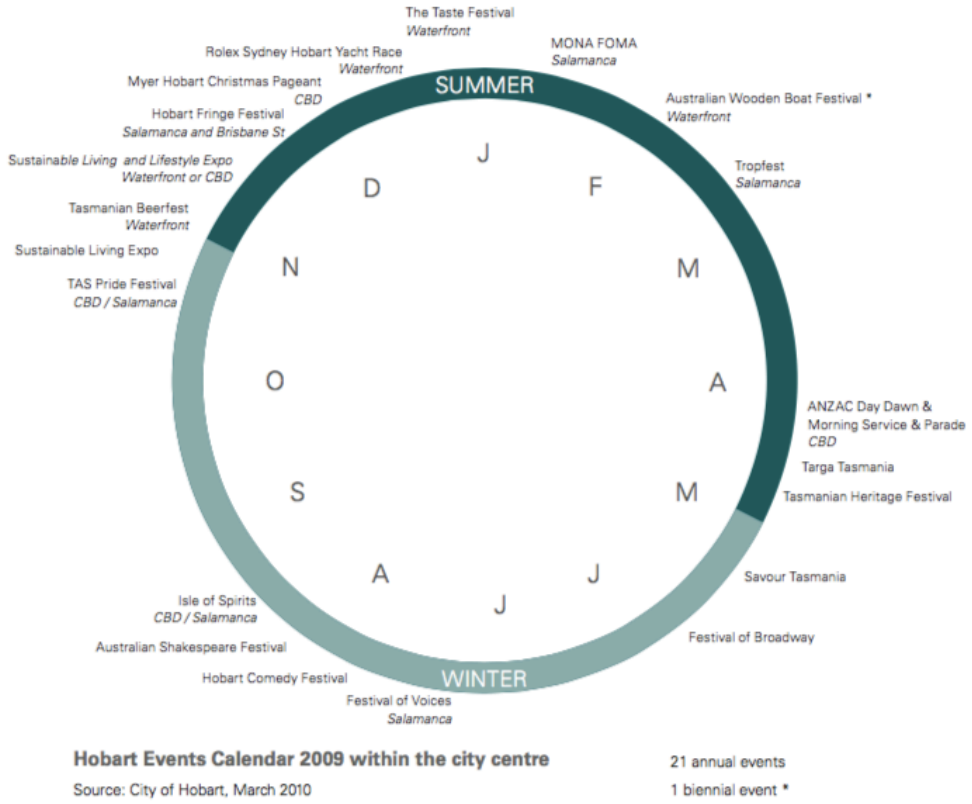

Image 3. Hobart Events Calendar. (Gehl, 2013: 45).

Solstice festivals in Hobart pre-date Mona, as evidenced by the Antarctic Midwinter Festival, which ran from 2001-2008. Research on the Antarctic Midwinter Festival found that the event's success was connected to the climatic particularities of Hobart, where seasonal conditions were ideal for mid-winter activities (Hadley, 2007: 3). Between 1850 and 2013, only four festivals (beginning in 1994) have operated over the mid-winter period in Hobart (Winterfest/Oysterfestival, the Antarctic Midwinter Festival, Festival of Voices and Lumina), and the Festival of Voices is the only one remaining as part of the contemporary festival cycle (Conroy, 2013: 14). Dark Mofo's business plan foregrounds the positive aspects of a winter based festival, where the environmental particularities provide an 'enviable position and if successful cannot be easily imitated by any other state' (Mona, 2012: 24).

Dark Mofo's emphasis on generating activity in Hobart provides objectives against which to measure the festival's impact. The festival objective of 'city activation' emerged as a primary aspect of my research inquiry. The following chapters will predominately examine Objective 4 of the Darkest Night business plan, of assessing Mona's role in branding Hobart

as a vibrant and active city in winter (Mona, 2012: 3). I establish the festival as an agent of city activation, in both spontaneous and highly choreographed ways.

The urban nature of the Mona festivals is specifically cited in the business plan, where the identity is described as founded upon 'Exciting, New, Urban Ideas' (Mona, 2013: 18). The meaning of 'city activation' in the context of the Dark Night Business Plan is not overtly defined, but is connected to branding 'Hobart as a vibrant and active city in winter' (Mona, 2012:3) and promoting a legacy of activating the 'city and businesses during the quiet winter months' (Mona, 2012: 6). The 2015-17 MONA FOMA Business Plan (Mona, 2013) directly refers to the winter festival objectives within a broader city activation plan: 'both MOFO and Dark Mofo bring together Tasmania's finest artists and art companies alongside high profile international and Australian artists to deliver a broad multi-arts program of quality and innovation *across the city* (Mona, 2013: 6, emphasis added).

4.3 A Vibrant and Active City

Dark Mofo's objective to 'brand Hobart as a vibrant and active city in winter' (Mona: 2012: 3), can be assessed against pre-existing City of Hobart urban planning strategies. The People with a City in Mind Report (Gehl, 2010), Inner City Action Plan (Wilkie, 2010), Creative Hobart Policy (CoH, 2013a) and Darkest Night Business Plan (Mona, 2012) all employ terminology of public space, public realm, placemaking and city activation, but definitions of these terms are not established in these documents. Rather, the terminology is inconsistently deployed depending upon the intentions of the institution using them and the aims they are attempting to realise. This undefined application of urban regeneration vocabulary is not restricted to planning documents, as Krober notes within academic literature the intended outcomes of culture led city activation is frequently assumed as 'obvious' rather than explicitly described (2015: 30).

The City of Hobart's policy and urban strategy documents largely conform to an approach where public space is understood physically as a spatial site, place making is presented as a socio-spatial process, and city activation as a practice intended to generate public life. In this policy context, the emphasis on public life is largely driven by economic aims, and understandings of the public as consumers (CoH, 2013a, Gehl, 2010).

4.3.1 Public Space and Policy

Work by Jan Gelh, a Danish Urbanist, was commissioned by the CoH in 2010 to produce a report 'about the public life in the city centre of Hobart, and receive expert advice and opinion on the opportunities for its future inner city development plan' (2010: 2). The report People with a City in Mind (Gehl, 2010) had 230 recommendations, which were adapted by the City of Hobart into 12 recommendations in the form of the Inner City Action Plan [ICAP] (Wilkie, 2010). These two documents are introduced here as a reference against which to reference the urban activity of Mona and Dark Mofo, and describe the impact of the festivals and projects against strategic aims of the council. Later, in Chapter Five, I explore how the Inner City Action Plan intersects with both the City of Hobart's cultural policy, and Mona's own strategic plans for Dark Mofo.

Gehl's Hobart study proposes the city act to 'ensure a vibrant city centre with versatile public space' (2010: 102). These findings align with the United Nation's UN-Habitat 'Street as Public Spaces and Drivers of Urban Prosperity' publication (UN-Habitat, 2013), as part of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, and the draft New Urban Agenda (United Nations, 2016)[26] which envisages participatory, engaged, accessible civic spaces. The emphasis on city activity is evident in the Gehl recommendations for making 'public life more vibrant and the city more diverse by offering a wider range of activities and destinations for all user groups, especially at night' and to 'help people to use the city in new and different ways' (Gehl, 2010: 102). The ICAP similarly proposes 'Activating Public Spaces' as a key action, with proposed policies including a 'user manual for activating open space', policy on street vending, and a simplified land use approval process (Wilkie, 2010: 66). The Creative Hobart document (City of Hobart, 2013a) draws upon both the ICAP and Gehl Report to develop a strategic direction which 'aims to maximise Hobart's sense of place, activating public spaces and council facilities' (City of Hobart, 2013a:14).

The 2010 Gehl report found that 'public space and life in Hobart can be summarised as - the physical structure is there, but opportunities for a range of activities need strengthening' (Gehl, 2010: 102). Gehl understands 'public space' as reliant on the determinants of the physical environment, while place making requires both a physical space

[26] The Un-Habitat's New Urban Agenda envisages cities which 'are participatory; promote civic engagement; engender a sense of belonging and ownership among all their inhabitants; prioritise safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces friendly for families; enhance social and intergenerational interactions, cultural expressions and political participation, as appropriate; and foster social cohesion, inclusion and safety in peaceful and pluralistic societies, where the needs of all inhabitants are met, recognising the specific needs of those in vulnerable situations' (Un-Habitat, 2013: 4).

and the development of a social and cultural engagement with the site, and with others. His findings establish that Hobart already provides the requisite 'topographic' sites for public space, but has scope for development of policies that encourage 'procedural' responses to the city (Iveson, 2007: 3). Dark Mofo's city interventions can therefore be interpreted as part of a 'procedural' response to the city, as described in Chapter Five (development of the policies) and Chapters Seven and Eight (impacts of policy implementation). Chapter Nine outlines how the narrative of Dark Mofo's impact has been employed to justify 'topographic' alterations to the city, in capital projects and private investment.

Beyond an understanding of public space as topographic, procedural or structural (Iveson, 2007), Kroeber offers the concept of the 'events landscape' in a festival context (2015). This understanding provides simultaneous space for the landscape of 'event production' and 'event as a radical break' (2015: 37). Kroeber asserts that the city provides a space for economically motivated activities which attract 'vacationers and conventioneers' and entice the creative class towards the 'consumption of ephemeral experiences' as well as facilitating 'radical urban potential' or situationalist inspired engagement with the city (2015: 34). This rendering of the city as constituted by landmarks, as well as 'practices, rhetorics and beliefs', where both the topological and procedural are formative in building the landscape (Kroeber, 2015: 34), enables a sociological discussion of public space, city activation, and placemaking without requiring defined terminology. In exploring the impact of Mona and Dark Mofo, I describe the evolving engagement with - and activity in - the city, alongside the policies which have shaped these interactions.

4.4 Festival Genesis

This section moves beyond the policy frameworks the Dark Mofo festivals are situated in, to detail the evolution of the Mona festivals. I explore the festivals as part of a 'catalytic process', following Franklin et al.'s research objectives to describe 'what actually happened' (2012: 10). I establish the genesis of MONA FOMA and how Dark Mofo evolved from the success of this festival, which commenced prior to Mona's 2011 opening. I trace the city activation strategy that Dark Mofo employs back to the original MONA FOMA festivals and their collaboration with the Salamanca Arts Centre, which has been providing artistic and cultural events, performances, exhibitions, music, and studio spaces in its waterfront venue since 1976.

In an interview with the Rosemary Miller (SAC) she explained that 'MONA FOMA actually started as a project of Salamanca Arts Centre' and that:

> we had been wanting to get up a music project for some time, with an experiential music bent. We had put in various applications here and there, but none had quite come off. We had a number of attempts to secure funding through Arts Tas for that area, and I think we had put in one to the Australia Council, but it was just challenging at that time…But finally when Brian Richie wanted to apply to come into the building as a studio artist, that opened up a few opportunities. You know, we had been operating a program at Salamanca, we had had over the years a number of projects as part of the Hobart Summer Festival, as it was known then, and used Salamanca place as a wonderful performance space… (interview, 2015).

The presence of Brian Richie (bassist of American punk rock bank the Violent Femmes, who migrated to Tasmania in 2008) at SAC as part of the studio program resulted in fortuitous conversations and connections. Richie was invited to make a guest appearance in a gospel choir performance as part of the Hobart Summer Festival, run by SAC in and around the Salamanca site. In addition to stimulating a relationship between Richie and the Southern Gospel Choir[27], Miller described how that event inspired her idea for a collaboration with Mona, which was at that time not yet open as a museum. Miller explained, 'having just seen him perform and he came off stage, I just floated with him the idea that we had been looking at the idea of setting up a music festival, and we had a number of ideas, and I would love for him to talk to him about that possibility' (interview, 2015). This external motivation behind the festival was corroborated by the MONA FOMA director at the Mona Effect Arts Tourism research seminar (conference notes, Mona Effect 2015).

Following initial discussion between Miller and Richie, Leigh Carmichael (who at this time was responsible for marketing at Mona, and subsequently became the director of Dark Mofo) assisted in the development of a proposal for a music festival in the Salamanca precinct. David Walsh was brought on board, and Miller explained that 'they saw it as a wonderful opportunity to work with us, as we are based in the centre of Hobart, nobody knew about Mona at this stage [2008]' (interview, 2015). Miller also highlighted the pre-existing synergy between Mona and SAC, as both organisations were directly influenced by

[27] This relationship subsequently developed into annual performances at the 'Standing in the Shadows of Mona' performances from 2012-2014 by the choir at the Berriedale outdoor stage.

entrepreneur, philanthropist and viticulturist Claudio Alcorso. Alcorso was a founding chair of the Salamanca Arts Centre, and established the Moorilla vineyard where Mona is now situated.

Following these discussions between SAC and Mona; Richie, Carmichael and Miller courted meetings with the government, but 'no public servant would put money on the table' (Miller, interview, 2015), as the festival was an unknown quantity, supported by a yet unrealised museum. Following an endorsement from government advisors, the proposal was subsequently approved by then Premier David Bartlett[28] and a $350 000 grant was secured from government. This contribution was financially matched by David Walsh. As part of the agreement, SAC provided David Walsh and Mona access to the Long Gallery space within the Salamanca sandstone institution, affording the opportunity to show his private collection to the public in a Hobart venue. Miller noted,

> …this was an opportunity to show the contemporary project, ideas and collection that he had. And I mean the reason he really wanted to get on board with this, was he saw it as an opportunity to market Mona in the lead up [to the opening of Mona] (interview, 2015).

Mona's branding strategy was to avoid marketing in a conventional sense (Franklin, 2014: 173- 198; Lehman et al., 2014; and Pearce, in Mona Effect Seminar, 2015), and this alignment and opportunity to exhibit with SAC provided 'a really authentic way of starting to build awareness and support' (Miller, interview 2015). This sentiment was echoed by Carmichael, who highlighted the marketing impetus behind the festivals as a launch for the museum:

> Mona is not a traditional museum, and so a marketing solution needed to come from outside the box. While not really wanting to spend money on advertising, David has always been fond of a good party. So Mona Foma was born in part, through the idea of being noticed by making a noise, and as it turned out, the audiences like a good party too! (as quoted in Red Bell Music, 2016).

[28] Bartlett has since assumed a position on the SAC board.

The initial MONA FOMA was thus a strategic branding exercise to establish a buzz and atmosphere in the lead-up to the museum, which would open in 2011. In a longitudinal study examining project branding, Leighton and Lehman found that the MONA FOMA 'products' have developed as 'distinctive and innovation cultural icons' (2011: 154).

The value of the festival was also acknowledged by SAC as a key achievement in the 2009 Annual Report, where the

> initiation, establishment and delivery by SAC of MONA FOMA whereby Mona's David Walsh and the Tasmanian Government contributed significant new funds for an annual music and arts festival, an event to promote Hobart as a contemporary cultural destination (SAC, 2010: 10).

In the initial year, over 33 000 people attended the seven-day festival and three weeks of visual arts, which were 'focused in and around Hobart, particularly in the Arts Centre and waterfront precinct' (SAC, 2010: 12). The SAC report also highlighted the organisation's significant role in 'brokering the relationship between public and private sector' (2010: 21), providing a link for festival funding which would grow exponentially in subsequent years for the Dark Mofo festivals, as 'it was because MONA FOMA has been successful that Dark Mofo has a platform for funding' (Miller, interview, 2015).

The co-production of MONA FOMA between Mona and SAC with their 'shared objectives' outlined in the business plan was sustained for two years, at which point 'the profile of Mona went into the stratosphere' and the strength of the Mona brand was overpowering that of the Salamanca Arts Centre (Miller, interview, 2015). Miller highlighted the different cultures, objectives and responsibilities of the two organisations: 'everything that Mona was doing was focused around what was on the drawing board and being built…and that was terrific and that was well understood by us, and we moved on in different directions' (interview, 2015). As further described in Chapter Eight, the strength of Mona's branding can overshadow co-producing and collaborating organisations and arts bodies, who have less established or immediately recognisable identities in the public imagination.

SAC's main objective to support and promote 'opportunities for Tasmanian artists and audiences, and a legacy'[29] (Miller, interview, 2015) did not directly align with the values

[29] This statement from Miller aligns with the objectives of the arts centre, as established in 1975
- 'To develop in Tasmania a greater knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts
- To increase the accessibility of the arts to the public of Tasmania

and motives of Mona in programing the festivals. However, points of crossover enable continuing collaboration between Mona and SAC for both MONA FOMA and Dark Mofo, including events such as Sound to Light (Dark Mofo, 2013) and the developmental Situate in Arts program (MONA FOMA 2013 and 2016). Miller described the collaborative processes with Dark Mofo as productive through 'acknowledgement of points of difference, and also the synergistic points and areas' (interview, 2015).

Outside formal festival programming and contracts, ongoing relationships between Mona and SAC are enacted via 'many people working at Mona who had exhibitions here, or have worked with us and are now working with Mona now in many different capacities' (Miller, interview, 2015). The director noted that this transition of staff from SAC to Mona so 'means we are doing our job' (Miller, interview, 2015) in assisting pathways from local artists and staff, and demonstrates how SAC's ethos of developing local skill sets and experience provided the pre-existing conditions for Mona's subsequent success, which draws upon local capacity to build co-constitutive relationships. This is evident in the constantly evolving relationship between Mona and SAC, as well as with points of crossover between these institutions formed by people who have worked, volunteered, and exhibited across the two cultural organisations.

The Mona Darkest Night Arts Festival Business Plan (Mona, 2012) employed the success of MONA FOMA throughout the document to demonstrate the power of the brand and the accomplishments of the summer festival. In advocating for the winter festival, the business plan refers to MONA FOMA's proven capacity to:

- attract 24% of its attendees from interstate (up 8% from in inaugural 2009 event)
- provided the state with a mean trip expenditure of $1196 for each interstate traveller
- 'captured people's imagination' with over 90% of respondents rating the overall lineup and quality of the events positively (Mona, 2012: 5).

- To promote community involvement in the practice of the arts
- To provide cooperation between practitioners of the arts
- To provide exhibitions of works of art
- To provide teaching
- To advise and co-operate with institutions, government departments, social authorities and other bodies on any matters concerned directly or indirectly with these objectives' (cited in SAC, 2010).

MONA FOMA is also foregrounded throughout the document, where it is proposed that,

> the results achieved for Mona Foma are similarly anticipated for Mona Darkest Night Art Festival over time. This optimism is based on a larger marketing budget than Mona Foma, the ability to leverage off a growing Mona with an expanding national support base. This combined with the unique winter exhibition offering, existing reach and market intelligence, suggests a high likelihood of success (Mona, 2012: 5).

The document cites MONA FOMA fourteen times as advocatory evidence to support the Darkest Night application. Additionally, while the document privileges the 'Real Return on Investment' where 'some things cannot be measured in dollar terms' (2012: 8), the business plan also highlights:

> With additional revenue streams MONA FOMA has been able to generate through this core investment over the past five years, the Tasmanian Government's contribution of $350 000 pa in MONA FOMA generates an event worth in excess of $2 million, six times the value of the State government's investment. The economic return to Tasmanian businesses is significant (2012:3)

The genesis of Dark Mofo then must be understood in reference to the MONA FOMA summer festivals, which provided a platform upon which the winter enterprise could be launched. The SAC impetus, driven by the inclusion of Richie in their studio program, highlights the significance of networks, personal connections, and embedded city activity to the development and subsequent success of Mona's city-based festivals. The pre-existing conditions thus facilitated the subsequent development of Dark Mofo, through constantly evolving relationships and experience.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a description of the geography, governance and cultural heritage in which Mona's impacts can be unpacked and analysed. In outlining the evolution of the Dark Mofo festival and the existing cultural landscape which existed before Mona's arrival, the circumstances in which Dark Mofo and Mona have become embedded in the city are recognised. This context enables for a nuanced and specific understanding of

Mona's impacts, in contrast to simplistic narratives which have emerged from policy transfer models, such as attempts to replicate the Bilbao Effect. The following chapter builds upon this established understanding of the winter festival and introduces the primary ways by which Dark Mofo has engaged with, and become intertwined with, the city of Hobart.

Chapter Five: Dark Mofo in the City

This chapter identifies the connections between Mona and Hobart through Dark Mofo's direct activities, and traces the external tributaries of activity, engagements, networks and policy which increasingly enmesh the city and the museum. I examine the development of Mona's interaction with Hobart as a means of waymarking key elements of the Dark Mofo narrative, and introduce three key avenues of inquiry which emerged through an inductive process of fieldwork in the Dark Mofo office in 2014 and 2015 (with additional content analysis and participant observation in the 2013 and 2016 events).

Firstly, I demonstrate how the winter festival has increasingly influenced and integrated with local policy and planning. I detail the policies introduced in the wake of Mona's arrival, involving the direct inclusion of the privately owned and operated museum in public policy. In addition to describing these shifts in policy, I identify the role of flexible and engaged policy application in facilitating the festival's success and progressing developments in the Hobart CBD and waterfront sites.

Secondly, I demonstrate how Dark Mofo's impact is predicated on networks and relationships with intermediaries in the local arts and cultural sphere, who are involved in the production and distribution of cultural content in Hobart's cultural economy. A pre-existing cultural vibrancy in Tasmania has supported Mona's activities, while simultaneously Mona's reach has provided an extended exhibitionary platform (Smith, 2012) for local activity. In examining Dark Mofo's impact on the cultural economy of the city and the conditions which have facilitated this, I directly address the first and second research questions introduced in Chapter Three.

Thirdly, I examine how the cultural economy of the city has been stimulated by Mona, particularly in relation to urban revitalisation of Hobart's waterfront precinct. I introduce the Macquarie Point brownfield development as a site of increasing importance for Mona and Dark Mofo. In this section I begin to address my third research question, which asks, 'What can be learnt from a cultural economy approach to urban regeneration?' I argue that Mona simultaneously deviates from, and increasingly aligns with, the Bilbao Effect narrative, and that Macquarie Point provides a case study through which to unpack the tension between these two simultaneous trajectories. This critical examination is continued in

Chapter Nine, where I situate the Macquarie Point development against literatures of urban regeneration and cultural economy.

5.1 Policy and Praxis

This section introduces the 'software' which has enabled Mona's success, a term introduced by Westbury (2015) to describe urban regeneration strategies beyond physical infrastructure (hardware) which recognise the significance of policies, legislation and funding in cultural planning. The capacity of Mona and Dark Mofo to impact Hobart has been partly facilitated by direct government funding of festivals, alignment with businesses in the local tourism industry, and a nuanced application of policy and regulations by local council. I demonstrate how the relationships between Mona and government, tourism and cultural bodies in the city are continually evolving and shifting towards increasing alignment between the museum (and associated festivals) and public sector policies and funding. These shifts have been recognised in academic (Ryan, 2016: 16) and journalistic (Harmon, 2016) accounts of the Mona Effect, with Harmon identifying that since its opening in 2011, 'Mona seems to have won the unequivocal support of the state government' (2016: n.p.).

This public/private alignment resonates with findings that arts-led urban regeneration projects are often notable for facilitating ongoing partnerships and 'co-functionality' between private enterprise, public policies and public funding streams (Shake, 2016: 10). Ceballos describes politicians in Bilbao as 'inebriated by the success of the Guggenheim' which resulted in the application and development of 'practices and discourse better suited to a much more entrepreneurial, pro-active and risk-taking approach…as a result of the self-confidence of local governors and the satisfaction of the local population' (2004: 177).

In sketching the development of policy since Mona's arrival, I also draw attention to the significance of place-specific understandings of policy, funding and planning. Place specificity and locatedness informs the process of policy development, and McCann and Ward (2011) describe how urban policy development is historically contingent and informed by locality and territorial interests, where,

> policymaking must be understood as both relational and territorial, as both in motion and simultaneously fixed, or embedded in place…the tension between policy as relational and dynamic, on the one hand, and fixed and territorial, on the other…is necessary tension that produces policy and places (McCann and Ward, 2011: xv).

Shake (2016) and Olds and Thrift (2005) similarly advocate for the recognition of local specificity as central to understanding policy development, as a means to 'gain new insights in the city' (Shake, 2016: 184). Below I examine key policies which have emerged in direct relation to Mona's growing success and government's growing confidence in the museum, as a means to gain new insights and situate these policies within the specific framework of Hobart's physical territory.

5.1.1 Arts and Cultural Funding

Dark Mofo is both the recipient of public funding, and a prime mover in shaping the landscape of arts, tourism, and economic growth strategies in the city. While privately funded, Mona is connected to cultural policy and funding spheres, and I argue that the links between Mona and government have become increasingly entangled and aligned. Initial unofficial ties between the private enterprise and public policy, were demonstrated in 2013, when (then) federal Labor Arts Minister Tony Burke held the Tasmanian launch of the national cultural policy 'Creative Australia' at Mona rather than a government institution or funded organisation. The cultural policy referred to Mona and its impact as an example of rejuvenation and regional development through private philanthropy:

> The Museum of Old and New Art in Hobart, for example, has seen the city listed in the travel guide *Lonely Planet's* 'Top 10 Cities' list. But more importantly for the people who live in Hobart, the project has invigorated the town centre and made it a place where they want to be. In turn, this makes Hobart more productive and competitive (Australian Government, 2013: 102-103).

Following the 2013 Federal election, this national cultural policy was not adopted or implemented by the incoming coalition government, and between 2013 and 2016, $300 million was cut from the Australian Council for the Arts, the national funding and advisory body (Eltham, 2016). While the impact and rationale behind these cuts is beyond the scope of this research, it is significant to note the national landscape of decreased funding in arts and culture against which the development of Mona sits.

In 2014, in the lead up to a Tasmanian state election, the three primary political parties presented their inaugural Creative Industries policies at a public forum, hosted by the

Ten Days on the Island Festival.[30] Creative Industries had not previously been a feature of pre-election commitments, nor been reflected in a dedicated policy by any party. The development of the policies emerged as a result of a Tasmanian Creative Industries lobby group (as described in section 5.2.3), who advocated for political recognition of the sector. All three parties committed funding to the formalisation of the Tasmanian Creative Industries group as part of their policy commitments (see section 5.2.2 below).

The three policies[31] consistently cited Mona as key to creative and cultural industries of the state, but did not detail how government would develop or formalise an ongoing relationship with the privately owned and funded venture. Subsequent analysis of the policies identified the consistent application of instrumental language to promote arts and culture as providing jobs and economic development for the state (Hawthorne, 2014).

The pervasiveness of the Bilbao Effect narrative in the Tasmanian imagination was demonstrated by the Tasmanian Green policy initiative (McKim, 2014) for the creative industries, which promoted 'Hobart as the site for the first southern hemisphere Guggenheim' as a 'sister museum to Mona' in an attempt to capitalise on Mona's success. This direct Guggenheim transportation had a projected funding structure allocating $100 000 for initial engagement and a subsequent $5 million for a global design competition (McKim, 2014: 3). The Tasmanian Labor Party similarly pursued a culture-led urban renewal strategy, committing $50 000 to develop a master plan for a cultural precinct encompassing Macquarie Point and Salamanca (Tasmanian Labor, 2014: 7).

In 2014 the Tasmanian Liberal Party[32] was elected to government and its 'Growing Jobs in the Creative Industries' (2014) policy was implemented, securing $450 000 over four years to the sector. This maintained the previous level of Arts Tasmania funding but did not increase to account for CPI. The policy additionally allocated $250 000 for the development of the Detached Cultural Hub to 'prepare a Master Plan to develop the former Mercury Newspaper building as a Creative Industries Hub' (Tasmanian Liberal, 2014: 2). This CBD building is privately owned by Penny Clive and Bruce Neil, and houses the Mona marketing,

[30] This event was widely attended by individuals employed or interested in the 'creative industries' in the state, and attracted considerable local media attention. It was held at the waterfront in the traveling Spiegeltent (in Hobart as part of the Ten Days on the Island festival) and was widely advertised across social media.

[31] The three polices are: Growing Jobs in the Creative Industries (Tasmanian Liberals), Cultural and Creative Industries (Tasmanian Labor), and Investing in Creativity: A Tasmanian Greens Policy Initiative (Tasmanian Greens).

[32] In an Australian context, the 'Liberal' party is one of the two major parties and are largely recognised as centre-right or conservative. This is different to a 'liberal' in a progressive sense, as employed to describe American political parties.

communications and Dark Mofo festival team, in addition to other cultural, food and beverage organisations and businesses.[33] The policy intervention aimed to 'stimulate the sector, generating jobs, investment and new ideas across the industry' (Tasmanian Liberal, 2014: 2); however, the Detached organisation declined the funding pool, opting to remain privately financed. While there is no direct line of causation between Mona and the development of state-level creative industries policy, the evolution of the museum and new approaches to governance indicates a renewed political interest in the sector.

5.1.2 Creative Investment

The economic and productivity based approach to arts and culture as demonstrated in 'Growing Jobs in Creative Industries' (Tasmanian Liberal Party, 2014) is similarly evident in policies and legislation developed by the Department of State Growth. In 2015, the Department released Tasmania's first Cultural and Creative Industries Strategy, under the direction of the Cultural and Tourism Industry Development Division. The division is directed by four principle objectives of:

1. 'Industry Growth - leading to improved economic performance and increased jobs
2. Brand - significant contributor to Tasmanian identity both locally, nationally and internationally
3. Tourism - contribute to both supply and demand aspects of the Tourism Industry
4. Attraction - contribute positively to the quality of life of Tasmanians through providing a range of activities that encourage social participation' (Department of State Growth, 2015a).

The Culture and Creative Industries Strategy builds upon these objectives, with six key priorities of sector leadership: building Tasmania's brand, visitor economy, industry development, innovation, training and education, and place and participation (Department of State Growth, 2015b: 1). The strategy emerged from prior consultation with a steering committee, who framed their approach through the UNESCO definition of culture (2001),

[33] Other organisations in the Detached Cultural Organisation building include Core Collective architects, Island Magazine, Pigeon Hole bakers, and Franklin restaurant.

which incorporates 'not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs'.[34] This broad definition enables the strategy to encompass a wide range of activities, and particularly to incorporate pre-existing strands of Tasmania's brand identity, including wilderness, heritage, fine food and artisan beverages.

In relation to Mona specifically, the strategy notes the significance of private contributions alongside public investment in the state:

> it is undeniable that the substantial private investment in recent years to create the Museum of Old and New Art (MONA) and by the Tasmanian Government in public museums (including the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery) and our historic places (including Port Arthur), have created a significant boost to the state's cultural development and profile (Department of State Growth, 2015b: 4).

The government committed $150 000 to implement the strategy, and to 'support growth in the cultural and creative industries' (Department of State Growth, 2015b: 17) by working alongside the now formalised Tasmanian Creative Industries Ltd.

In 2017, the Department of State Growth restructured to amalgamate Arts Tasmania, the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Screen Tasmania, Events Tasmania and Hospitality and Tourism under the banner of the Cultural and Tourism Development Division (Department of State Growth, 2017).[35] The division highlights that, 'Tasmania is at a tipping point. We have a unique position in the imagination of Australia and the world'.[36] The division has also realised a Tasmanian Visitor Engagement Strategy, which privileges a 'strategy of authenticity' (Department of State Growth, 2016a: 10) and an 'art and nature led future' (2016a:12). While the strategy advocates for investment in the promotion of local, small scale operators and producers, there is as yet no funding stream available for the development or support of these arts- and nature-led activities.

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[34] The full UNESCO definition is: 'The set of distinct spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, that encompasses, not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.' (United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 2001).

[35] The other divisions falling under the jurisdiction of the Department of State Growth are: Industry and Business Development, Transport Services Group, Infrastructure Tasmania, and Business Services.

[36] The full description from the website is, 'Tasmania is at a tipping point. We have a unique position in the imagination of Australia and the world. We are increasingly being recognised as an attractive destination for tourists and for our cultural environment and industries. The Cultural and Tourism Development Division works to support and deliver products, services and experiences that appeal to both locals and visitors. It does this through supporting sector development, facilitating delivery, promoting funding and through stimulating demand' (2017).

5.1.3 Tasmanian Cultural Industries (TCI)

The Tasmanian Cultural Industries (TCI)[37] was established in 2014, evolving from conversations by an advisory committee which preceded the state government's development of a Creative Industries policy in 2015.[38] In 2015, the TCI's constitution formalised its aims[39] as:

> We're a pretty new industry group with ambitious goals. We might be commercial and we might be cultural, but we're always creative. Our desire is to be the peak body to connect, promote and grow Tasmanian creative industries with the ultimate vision of turning Tasmania into a creative powerhouse (Creative Island, 2015).

The development of the TCI aligned with the 2014 election campaign, in which the Liberal Party committed $200 000 to develop a 'strategic plan for jobs growth industries' (Tasmanian Liberal, 2014). This was guided by an MOU between the Tasmanian Creative Industries Council and Government (Tasmanian Liberal, 2014: 2). In 2015, the TCI received $50 000 in seed funding from the Department of State Growth to establish and formalise the group.

TCI Co-Chair Tony Bonney explained,

> from my understanding of the government's perspective, they saw the TCI as the link between the government sector - a bit like how the tourism council is the interface between operators and government - and so they saw us as that conduit,

37 Formerly named the Tasmanian Cultural Industries Council, TCIC.

38 Members of this included Dark Mofo's Leigh Carmichael who later sat on the initial Tasmanian Creative Industries board, alongside Andrew Dickinson (Innovatas), Rye Dunsmuir (Design Tasmania), Rosemary Miller (Salamanca Arts Centre), Owen Tilbury (Design Tasmania), David Gurney (Blue Rocket Productions), Marcus Barker (Ten Days on the Island) and Jess Tyler (Startup Tasmania).

39 As outlined in the constitution, these goals are: to promote and sustain interest in and the development of the Creative Industries and Economies of Tasmania by gathering together recognised and emerging Creative Industry organisations, associations, sectors and individuals to: i) provide advice to all recognised stakeholders to facilitate broad long-term planning and resourcing of the Creative Industries and Economies of Tasmania; ii) develop and coordinate a cohesive voice from the Creative Industries sector; iii) identify, source, auspice and promote direct or indirect funding sources that can be made available for the to development of the Creative Industries; iv) provide Members of the Council with a forum to exchange information, advice and assistance where appropriate; v) promote the value of the Creative Industries as an integral part of everyday life in Tasmania; and vi) undertake any activity that Councilors shall from time to time determine to be in furtherance of the objects of the Council. (pers comm., Bonney, 2015).

and also as a way they could dispense and devolve funds for jobs growth programs (interview, 2016).

In this role, the TCI endeavoured to ascertain the baseline economic worth of the sector, in an effort to demonstrate the fiscal, 'not just romantic', worth of the sector (Bonney, interview, 2016).[40]

The TCI operates under a 'college' system of governance,[41] and Bonney highlighted the inclusion of 'food and locavore' businesses in the TCI structure, acknowledging 'historically they have fitted more into a hospitality industry' but are relevant to the creative industries and 'nascent economy' in a Hobart context (interview, 2016). This is reflected in the inclusion of Sarah Caddick (marketing manager of Mona's brewery, Moo Brew) on the TCI board. This relationship between Mona and food and beverages as constituent of the cultural economy is further explored in Chapter Six, and reflects the UNESCO definition (2001) which guides the state's Culture and Creative Industries Strategy.

5.1.4 Creative Events

In 2015, Events Tasmania, as part of the Cultural Tourism Development Division, released a new Government Events Strategy with four objectives to transition the state 'towards becoming the boutique events capital of Australia':

1. 'To help meet our target of 1.5 million visitors to Tasmania by 2020
2. To promote Tasmania as a business events destination
3. To highlight the social and economic value of events that promote cultural, sporting and artistic pursuits
4. To enrich Tasmania's keen sense of community' (Events Tasmania, 2015: 5-6).

The Premier's introduction to the Events Strategy explains that 'the Tasmanian Government Events Strategy 2015-2020 will ensure it continues to illuminate every region and even the darkest of seasons' (Events Tasmania, 2015: 2), which riffs on the Dark Mofo

[40] In 2015 and 2016 through a targeted mailing list, the TCI canvased over 200 responses from businesses in the creative industries sector, who answered questions pertaining to employment and turnover in the sector.
[41] The TCI engages with the following college sectors: Music and Performing Arts; Visual Arts; Architecture and Design; Media and Publishing; Screen, Radio and Television; Advertising and Marketing; Festivals, Events and Museums; and Online and Interactive Entertainment.

imagery of activity, light and populated space in the winter months. The document reports on the value of events for Tasmania in terms of bringing $100 million to the state's economy[42], creating 'excitement, entertainment and employment' for Tasmanians (Events Tasmania, 2015: 3). The strategy sees the role of events as enriching 'sense of place, engender pride, and promote participation' as well as providing 'a legacy of infrastructure and skills' (Events Tasmania, 2015: 3).

The Events Tasmania strategy employs Dark Mofo as a case study: referring to the festival as an event which 'contributes substantial arts and cultural benefit to the state and helps position Tasmania as a cultural tourism destination' (Events Tasmania, 2015: 4). The inclusion of Dark Mofo in the strategy aligns with the Tasmania Visitor Economy Strategy 2015-2020 [T21] (TICT and Tourism Tasmania, 2015) and with findings from the Tourism Tasmania Visitors Survey that show five of the ten most popular visitor attractions in 2014 were cultural (Fitzgerald, 2014). Premier Hodgman stated 'it is events like Dark Mofo that will help the Government achieve our target to grow the tourism industry to 1.5 million visitors per year by 2020' (Hodgman, 2014). The tourism strategy (T21) also refers to the 'burgeoning contemporary arts and creative industries' in the state, where a 'strong and vibrant culture is at the heart of any visitor economy' (TICT and Tourism Tasmania, 2015: 6). This T21 strategy is similarly employed to rationalise waterfront hotel development in the wake of Mona, as discussed in Chapter Nine.

5.1.5 Dark Mofo Funding

In 2016, following a submission to government from Dark Mofo, a revised funding arrangement was announced for the festival, which saw $700 000 contributed by the City of Hobart for 2016-2018, and a $1.2 million contribution from state government for 2016 (an increase from $3 million spread across the previous three years). The Premier explained that Dark Mofo 'is a huge windfall for our tourism and hospitality operators, with the average visitor staying seven nights and spending $200 a night at restaurants, shops and on experiences' (Hodgman, as quoted in Young, 2016a: n.p.). Lord Mayor Hickey echoed the role of Mona in stimulating a boost to tourism and economic growth, saying 'the City of Hobart is keen to see this midyear boom continue which is why we've provided assistance to both festivals' (Hickey, as quoted in Young, 2016a: n.p.).

[42] Based on data provided by the Tasmanian Visitor Survey, and multiplier effect analysis that the typical visitor stays for 7 days and spend approximately $200 dollars per day.

The agreement between the state government and Mona promised $2.1 million in recurrent annual funding until 2021, with commitments from Mona to:

- ‘Grow interstate and overseas visitors to the event to 20,000 by 2021;
- Grow overall attendance to 500,000 by 2021;
- Increase media exposure and promotion of Tasmania;
- Delivery of a regional expansion program every year; and
- At least $250,000 invested in programming and support of local arts based organisations’ (Hodgman, 2016a: n.p.).

These policies and funding arrangements highlight the economic and tourism value that the government ascribes to Mona, and the increasing alignment of the private museum with government legislation and funding arrangements. As Harmon has highlighted, the success of the museum in transforming ‘a city into a global destination in one fell swoop’ meant the government couldn’t ‘say no’ to funding the associated winter festival (Harmon, 2016, n.p.). However, in addition to financial support, Harmon shows that government support for Dark Mofo ‘extends beyond cash: roads are shut down, entire precincts closed, and rules seem to bend to support the “unexplained confused weirdness” that pervades’ (Harmon, 2016, n.p.). The significance of these legislative externalities to the success of the festival and the broader cultural economy of Hobart is a central argument of this thesis, and key to understanding the success of the Dark Mofo festivals.

Image 4. A photoshopped image of Premier Will Hodgman wearing a tie with the words 'MOFO EXECUTIVE.'[43] Promotional images uploaded by MONA FOMA to their Instagram page [now deleted] (Mona Foma, October 27, 2017).

5.1.6 Creative Hobart

Prior to the State Government's initiatives and polices described above, in 2013, the City of Hobart released a cultural policy, Creative Hobart. The policy proposes a vision of the city as a 'platform' which 'focuses on public space as a stage upon which cultural activities can take place' (CoH, 2013a: 14). The aspirational policy highlights the economic strength of the creative industries, and references both Mona and the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery as motivators for 'increasingly bringing an expanded art world to Hobart' (CoH, 2013a: 5). The document refers to the potential of developing a Floridian 'creative class' and applies an instrumentalist approach in aiming to 'leverage on this visitation' which Mona and TMAG have brought to the state.

There are numerous applications of Florida's work in cultural policy documents internationally, both in the promotion of 'creative cities' generally and instances where his ideas are 'explicitly mentioned' (Douwe et al., 2015: 10). The CoH document describes how

[43] These promotional images were uploaded by MONA FOMA to their Instagram page (now deleted) on October 27, 2017. The images supplied here are screenshots I took before they were removed from the social media platform.

Florida's research 'measured and demonstrated the interconnections between creativity, openness and quality of life in a place and its ability to attract people and businesses that are involved in innovation and creativity' (CoH, 2013a: 9). This emphasis on the capacity of cultural activity to attract people and business to the city is consistent with state policy, as outlined above.

The City of Hobart document also highlights the importance of the physical space of the city for supporting and facilitating creative industries and cultural activity. As one of the three main 'Outcome Areas' of the creative policy, the council aims to 'engage artists and cultural workers in activating the city's built and natural public spaces in order to provide extended opportunities for meaningful community participation in cultural activities' (CoH, 2013a: 16). These cultural and community-based strategies are situated within a 'policy context' of the City of Hobart's 'Hobart 2025' (HCC, 2007a) and the 'Strategic Plan 2008-2013' (HCC, 2010). The Creative Hobart document highlights the intersection between culture and the city, through the Future Directions, which aim to ensure:

> 'FD71. A destination of choice and a place for business
> FD72. Clever thinking and support for creativity will help build a strong economic foundation
> FD73. Entertainment, arts and cultural activities promote the distinctive character of the city, and lifestyle opportunities and strong communities will ensure a vibrancy and way of life that is Hobart' (CoH, 2013a: 6).

The Creative Hobart mission statement specifically highlights its core roles as 'Facilitator/Coordinator, Promote/Advocate, Invest/Support, Provide/Partner' (CoH, 2013a: 16), rather than delivering a cultural program of its own through a gallery space or council-run projects. The role of Facilitator/Coordinator aims to 'actively support, nurture and guide the development of arts and creative industries in Hobart to maximise Council resources, and build partnerships with other governmental agencies and the private sector' (CoH, 2013a: 16). This model aims to encourage connections across council, and facilitates negotiation and advocacy within council for permits and licenses.

5.1.7 Flexible Policy

In addition to emerging policy initiatives which directly cite or fund Mona and Dark Mofo, the festival and the museum have also prompted a nuanced application of policy, legislation and planning from council and government. O'Connor (2014) cited the acquiescence of Occupational Health and Safety regulations surrounding the rotisseries of meat on the streets at the inaugural Dark Mofo Winter Feast and the cancelation and subsequent re-establishment of the Nude Swim as particularly emblematic of the flexibility which the festivals have necessitated and the city has afforded as partners in producing the events. In 2013, as part of the inaugural winter festival program, a nude dawn swim on the morning of winter solstice. The event was initially quashed by Tasmanian Police, as it was seen as being in breach of public decency under Section 14 of the Police Offences Act (Police Offences Act, 1935). However, in response to public enthusiasm for the event and news coverage which threatened the image of Tasmania, the police and council reinstated the event, and the (then) Mayor Damon Thomas participated in the swim as a sign of solidary between council and the festival.

The relationship between Dark Mofo and the City of Hobart was described in an interview with three senior staff members from the Council's Cultural Programs and Community Development as a 'very very close, involved relationship' (Holliday, interview, 2014). The genesis of this evolving partnership between the CoH and Dark Mofo is detailed in Chapter Six. The 2013 festival acted as a catalyst for a more 'embedded' relationship between the two parties (Holliday, interview, 2014), with increased interaction, collaboration and facilitation. Cultural Programs Coordinator Jane Castle highlighted that unlike other partnerships with cultural organisations and festivals, the Dark Mofo arrangement extended far beyond a 'funding partner' structure which was more appropriate for describing the relationship between the City of Hobart and other city-based festivals including the Festival of Voices and Baroque Festival.[44]

The alignment between Dark Mofo activity and council strategies for city activation and urban interventions (as discussed in Chapter Seven) was identified by Castle, particularly in the development of the festival between 2013 and 2014. Castle described a new philosophy of city engagement in 2014, where Dark Mofo actively increased engagement with 'the fabric of the city' (interview, 2014) in terms of urban design, urban architecture and the use of city spaces. This is evident in the development of the 'Future Hobart' events as part of the Dark

[44] These events followed a more conventional festival business model and allocation of permitted time and space for events.

Mofo program in 2013 and 2014 and Dark Park developments (2015), which were explicit in their city activation agenda. Dark Mofo director Leigh Carmichael described the evolution of the festival since 2013 as 'taking on a bigger canvas with the space across the city' (interview, 2015).

Additionally, as of July 2017 the City of Hobart developed new requirements for recipients of Event Partnership Grants, to encourage cohesion between funded projects and council planning objectives. Applications for funding will now be assessed against their demonstrated alignment with the The City of Hobart 10-year Capital City Strategic Plan (HCC, 2007b), Creative Hobart cultural strategy (CoH, 2013a), and Economic Development Strategy (CoH, 2013b).

However, while both Mona and the City of Hobart were similarly engaged with the urban fabric of the CBD and surrounding areas, Castle highlighted the different structures which govern Dark Mofo and the CoH, with the festival being largely self-directed and regulated, in contrast to the bureaucratic configuration of the council. Castle recognised the benefits of Dark Mofo's innovative approaches as 'an opportunity in that they can think about things in a kind of high risk way' (Castle, interview, 2014). However, Castle explained the difficulties of collaborating and co-producing with Mona and Dark Mofo, who have self-identified as an anarchic organisation (Franklin, 2014), for a 'risk averse' government body (Castle, interview, 2014). Castle explained,

> we ARE risk averse, and we also have huge levels of accountability and our reporting is quite extreme. We are slow, we try to be good at what we do, but we can't always be as spontaneous as something like a festival would be. So you know, there is always that tension that we need greater lead times and are more risk averse. So hopefully at the end of that, if they understand our language and we understand their language, we can meet somewhere in the middle and do great things in the city. And sometimes that works and sometimes that doesn't work as well (interview, 2014).

The CoH's event manager explained 'perhaps we were seen as the bureaucracy which was literally dragging down, dragging back creative ideas' when discussing the development of the Winter Feast (Daley, interview, 2014). This tension is illustrated in the following discussion about collaboration between the CoH and Mona, and public perception of this relationship:

> Castle: …it's because it's not a waste of money. You see, we are spending public money, and then rent payers will say 'I spent my rates on that'. Whereas Mona, because it is much more philanthropically based -
> Holliday: Apart from huge chunks of public dollars.
> Castle: You know what I mean though. Do people realise that?
> Holliday: Probably not!
> Castle: They don't! And they are probably thinking 'he put on something, I didn't particularly like it, who cares!' (interview, 2014).

The public perception of Mona's activities as a 'gift to the city' and the freedom this afforded Carmichael and Walsh was raised several times throughout the interview. In particular, the participants discussed a perceived 'suspension of criticality' from local residents towards all Mona activity, where it was 'almost like they could do no wrong' (Holliday, interview, 2014). This 'suspension of criticality' also extended to the council aldermen, who did not voice any complaints about the Dark Mofo operations, despite significantly disrupting the running of the city for a two-week period through road closures and late night concerts (Holliday, 2014). Comparably, Swyngedouw et al. (2002: 561) found that in Bilbao, the autonomy of the public-private partnership 'helped to reinforce the tendency to avoid a social and political debate over alternative paths and strategies'. These tensions between the exceptionalism of Mona and its privately initiated activities, and the policies and legislations which govern the civic responsibilities of the city are re-examined in Chapter Nine, where I further demonstrate how Dark Mofo and Mona have increasingly become affiliated with government policy and planning.

5.2 Locality and Cultural Economy

In addition to the complex but increasingly synergistic relationships between Mona and government regulatory and funding bodies, Mona and Dark Mofo have equally been supported by and beneficiaries of the broader cultural economy of the state. O'Connor (2014) highlights that the successful development of a robust cultural economy is reliant upon 'the need to understand and flexibly support the ecosystem in which the cultural industries operate' which has historically proven to be 'beyond policymakers' to comprehend (2014: n.p.).

For example, the initial collaborations between Mona and local businesses were formally structured, and explicitly initiated by the museum. In 2012, Mona invited local industries to 'get in bed' with the museum, to create a network of supportive and pooled resources to promote Tasmania as a winter tourism destination. This embedded/in-bedded approach contributed to increased interstate and international visitation to the museum 'and by extension the state' of 32% in 2013-14 (Mona, 2016).

In 2016, following this success, Mona launched a 'Circle of Trust' campaign, which similarly offered local businesses the opportunity to be included on the Mona website as allied partners and to be aligned with the Mona brand (Mona, 2016). Since 2012, Mona's campaigns which promote affiliated businesses on the museum's website through the 'Tasmanian Accommodation' and 'Tasmanian Experiences' links, have sold 1226 room nights (revenue of $571 123), and in 2016 the packages website received 72211 views (Mona, 2016, n.p.). Beyond these Mona-initiated hotel room sales via the museum website, small independent businesses have also capitalised on the museum's success.

The Alabama Hotel in Hobart's CBD has no formal connection with Mona, but is part of an expanding group of businesses that are benefiting from, and sustaining, a growing cultural economy. Kelly Cloake, Alabama owner, explained:

> we've gone through a Dark Mofo and a MONA FOMA, and were completely booked out for both…and people book well in advance. For this upcoming MONA FOMA, we sold out within a week of the dates being announced, before the program was even released (Cloake, quoted in Young, 2014).

In addition to direct hotel bookings, The Alabama has commissioned local artists to create works for each room, and stocks local whisky, cider and beers in its bar (Cloake, interview, 2014). This is both strategic marketing to a largely interstate audience, and a way to support a broad local economy of cultural practice.

Less formal and more organic arrangements have also emerged through Hobart's pre-existing economy, including the festivalisation of employment opportunities, the enabling capacity of embedded networks and the involvement of the University's School of Creative Arts (see Chapters Six, Seven and Eight).

5.2.1 Festivalisation

Fieldwork in the Dark Mofo office in 2014 and 2015 provided evidence of a growing 'festival economy' within the state, with the prestige to attract interstate workers and sustain a range of Tasmanian specialists. Within the programming and operations teams, there was strong crossover with the Festival of Voices, Falls Festival and Ten Days on the Island, as well as a cohort of workers who had moved to Tasmania specifically to work for Dark Mofo. Several interstate staff relocated and bought property in the state subsequent to festival employment, while other interstate festival team members temporarily moved to Hobart and worked a circuit of festivals throughout the year. The connection to Festival of Voices is formalised beyond the staff crossover by a 'strategic partnership' between Mona and the FoV, which was 'established to seamlessly deliver a winter activation strategy June-August' (Mona, 2012: 8).

This is not to suggest that Mona is solely responsible for invigorating a festival scene in Tasmania, but indicative of Mona's capacity to attract skilled workers and support the strong pre-existing skilled workforce in the performing arts and arts management industries. One short-term contracted staff member explained that Hobart now has sufficient festival work to allow consistent employment, but Melbourne and other interstate festivals still offered greater remuneration (fieldwork, 2014). The 2015-17 business plan places value on building and sustaining a local work force, reporting that 'Mona now employs 6 FTE positions and 24 short term contracted positions to produce both summer and winter festivals. Additional casual labour across many industries supports the event's delivery' (Mona, 2013: 9). Furthermore, a key strategy of the festival is to look both internally and externally to 'engage a visionary and knowledgeable creative team with international networks and an understanding of the Hobart market' (Mona, 2013: 12).

While the integrity of the festival was always central to programing and staffing decisions, there was also a commitment to encouraging local connections and work opportunities. In the weeks preceding the 2014 and 2015 festivals, a variety of roles (e.g. videographer, time lapse photographer, site manager, casual designer) were filled through staff asking 'who knows someone...?' and 'Facebook callouts' for smaller paid and volunteer roles. The issue of local 'embeddedness' was acknowledged through a desire to 'try to keep it local' even though this was often 'more expensive than flying someone down' due to lack of readily available skilled local workers (fieldwork, 2014). The density of the cultural ecology of Hobart was also frequently demonstrated by the festival team drawing upon their pre-existing connections and networks to fill temporary roles. However, the wider social

narrative of Mona as a 'salvation' for the state was also parodied by staff, who satirically described 'giving young people a chance...' (fieldwork, 2014). On other occasions when the local workforce could not provide the requisite skills or experience, interstate employment was essential, and readily sought out. For example, a stage manager for the Winter Feast was brought in from Victoria, and an aerial artist was flown from Queensland (fieldwork, 2014).

Dark Mofo's submission to government to secure recurrent funding for the 2016-2020 festivals identified the need for supported training and education pathways for Tasmanians. Dark Mofo has thus far worked in an 'ad hoc' (Mona, 2015: 76) manner to provide professional development opportunities with Tasmania's vocational educational training institution (TasTAFE) and the University of Tasmania. From 2016, Mona proposed formalising ongoing relationships with Skills Tas, UTAS, TasTAFE and the Tasmanian Hospitality Association to develop a 'legacy' which will be 'significant to the local economy' (Mona, 2015: 76). This strategy is consistent with the state government's $400 000 'Tasmanian Tourism and Hospitality Industry Workforce Development Plan' (Department of State Growth, 2016b) to assist with employment pathways and skilled labour in the sector. As described in Chapter Six, service industries within the tourism sector have been significant financial beneficiaries of Mona and Dark Mofo's activities in the city.

5.2.2 Embedded Networks

As established in Chapter Four, Hobart has a legacy of established and vibrant cultural and creative communities of both local importance and international resonance. Heidenreich and Plaza (2015) contend that museums can operate as 'bridging institutions' by facilitating collaboration with local organisations, universities and research (2015: 1447), as well as connecting with international circuits. Heidenrich and Plaza assert that 'bridging' is achieved by museums, who can 'play a critical role as innovation facilitators' (2015: 1447). This is evident in the case of Dark Mofo which has capitalised on the connections that Mona and MONA FOMA had previously established with external organisations. This collaborative process was demonstrated via the Mona *Theatre of the World* exhibition in 2012, where celebrated French curator Jean-Hubert Martin explored and borrowed from the local Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (TMAG) collection. The museum's collection of tapa cloths was installed alongside blockbuster international works including Picasso's *Weeping Woman* (1937) on loan from the National Gallery of Victoria. In this context, Mona fulfilled a social process by providing TMAG with a 'short-cut in connecting with people and

institutions' (Heidenreich and Plaza, 2015: 1450) as the exhibition subsequently toured internationally, granting heightened exposure and engagement with the tapa cloths.

Krauss similarly describes this process as promoting an 'institutional entrepreneur' who 'succeed in inducing cooperation and shared understanding' when 'creating links to related fields. This processes sees the social embeddedness of the museum is enhanced through 'strategic action and co-operation' (2015: 1498). In a Bilbao context, Plaza et al. (2009) understand networks creating a structure by which:

> flagship urban artifacts should not be understood as ending or starting points on a linear continuum, but as points of passage in heterogeneous networks - in this case, the networks comprising Bilbao's art scene. The focus then, is not the artefact itself, but rather on the multiple associations to which it is connected. It is feasible to believe that future investigations on the role of flagship projects in urban revitalization should take this relational perspective if schematic definitions require to be avoided (2009: 1724).

This rendering of arts institutions as relational and enabled by networks is evident in Dark Mofo's formal partnerships. The 2014 festival had 18 formal Program Partners, demonstrating the strong outreach of Mona and the desire from local, national and international organisations to be associated with the Mona brand (Dark Mofo, 2014). By 2016, as the festival's program, scope, and reputation expanded, partnerships grew to 42 (Dark Mofo, 2016).[45] While this growth and outreach is significant, it should be noted that collaboration and partnerships are not particular to the Mona approach, as in 2013 the Ten Days on the Island Festival had 68 corporate sponsors to partner in the 'delivery of our state-wide festival' in 2013 (Ten Days, 2013: n.p.).

Dark Mofo's partnerships with arts organisations were primarily facilitated through an umbrella model. Carmichael conveyed some cynicism towards this structure, where festivals include external events to bolster their core program, without providing financial, logistical, curatorial or production assistance (Carmichael, interview, 2014). However, the festival director reported that Contemporary Art Tasmania (CAT) had experienced significant increase in visitation over the festival period and was eager to pursue an ongoing relationship

[45] This included Major Partners, Supporting Partners, Promoting Partners, Media Partners, Food and Beverage Partners, Entertainment Services Partners, and Preferred Suppliers.

with the Mona festivals. This sentiment was echoed by CAT director Michael Edwards who described audience attendance during the festival period as 'very successful' for the gallery, which was sometimes 'completely hammered by numbers' (Edwards, interview, 2015). Partnerships and formal networks with arts and cultural bodies were predominately established in 2012, prior to the Dark Mofo, when Carmichael contacted a broad range of local organisations to discuss the potential of collaboration and inclusion in the 2013 program. The Darkest Night Business Plan outlines the intentions of the festival to

> …work closely with national and local arts groups, artists, musicians and live performance companies to increase activity during the festival period. It's vitally important to collaborate with a wide range of groups in order to generate enough activity to sustain the energy of the festival (Mona, 2012: 13).

This expansive city-wide 'energy of the festival' relies upon ongoing cultural production and development throughout the year from non-Mona affiliated organisations, to then provide content and activity for the festival period. Carmichael explained the importance of broader cultural and community ownership of the festival.

> They don't just become a platform for us to use their stage, they actually buy in and become participants. So they are really important for the festival, and I would hate to think we had to go back out sometime in the future and do it all on our own. That would be a disaster! (interview, 2015).

As further discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, the Dark Mofo festivals capitalise on the evolving networks of Hobart's cultural sector. This both enables content for the festival period to be integrated in the program and simultaneously encourages a robust cultural economy which continues beyond the festival fortnight.

5.2.3 University Effects

Linkages in the local cultural economy also exist between the University's Tasmanian College of the Arts (TCOTA) and Mona and its festivals. A TCOTA lecturer remarked on the significance of exposing Tasmanian students to internationally renowned work in a local context, as well as highlighting the opportunities for students to be involved in the installation

of significant artworks at Mona as part of their degree (Newitt, interview, 2014). In 2015, UTAS students had opportunities to be involved in projects of international significance, including performing as part of Marina Abramovic's exhibition, assisting to build the Hothouse Project, and installing artworks by Patricia Piccinini.

UTAS and Dark Mofo's relationship has shifted as the festival has increasingly consolidated its position in the waterfront precinct where the art school is located. John Vella (Acting Head of School at TCOTA) explained the lack of engagement in the initial years of the festival:

> basically we looked at what was going on in terms of Dark Mofo and looked at how crap our engagement was, and we didn't even have red light on! …It started with a conversation with Leigh [Carmichael], and it was very fortuitous given the developments of Dark Park at Macquarie Point, that it was right place, right time kind of scenario (Vella, interview, 2015).

This interaction is reflective of the engagement of Dark Mofo with several local organisations and institutions, illustrating the unplanned and constantly evolving nature of Mona's activity, and the personal and social networks which have facilitated the projects, opportunities and collaborations.

In 2015, the project and marketing output summary from UTAS regarding their involvement quantified some of this experience. From a marketing perspective, in 85 days, over 2 455 603 people were reached through radio, TV and broadsheet newspapers[46] and over 30 000 people attended the Centre of the Arts for events during the festival. Mona and UTAS' relationship extends well beyond the festival fortnight. In 2016, an elective course was introduced at UTAS, titled 'Current Practice: Incoming Faux Mo' which provided students with direct MONA FOMA festival experience.[47] Two lecturers spoke of the significance of inter-institutional exchanges, particularly in relation to the art school's weekly Art Forums. These forums have provided presentations by international and high-profile artists including Alfredo Jaar, James Turrell and Vito Acconci (Bleach and Vella, interview,

[46] The University calculated this value as equivalent to $1 139 498 in advertising space (pers. comm., J. Vella, 2015).

[47] The course description explains: Current Practice- Faux Mo provides students with the opportunity to learn and develop festival production skills, providing an environment for students to participate in the creations, build and installation of the Faux-Mo Festival Club, which will be presented January 20-22, 2017. The hands-on experience will be supported by a series of lectures, artist presentations and discussion groups that contextualise and critically frame the activity' (flier at the Hunter Street UTAS campus, 2016).

2015). The TCOTA website highlights the connections between Mona and the art school, and draws attention to the calibre of artists associated with TCOTA by virtue of the school's connections with Mona (Images Five and Six). The relationship between Mona and TCOTA has developed as the Dark Mofo festivals have increased in scope and scale. The Dark Park project, described below, is illustrative on the growing relationships between Dark Mofo and UTAS.

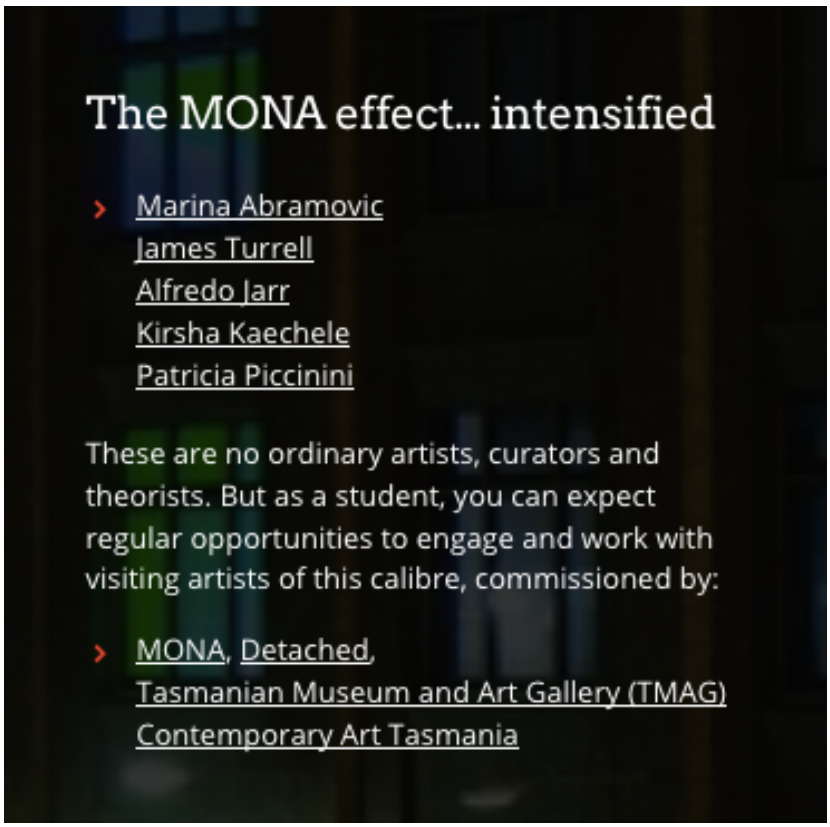

Image 5: The Mona Effect…Intensified. (UTAS, n.d).

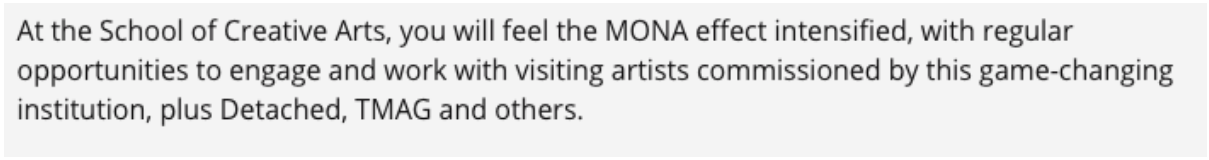

Image 6: The Mona Effect (UTAS, n.d).

5.3 Regenerating Space

The previous sections have provided an overview of how Mona and Dark Mofo have become embedded in the city of Hobart, and the success of this interaction with the local cultural economy. Here I introduce the physical effects of the Dark Mofo festivals in shaping

the capital projects, investment opportunities, and the experience of being in the city, and in particular the waterfront area. In their critique of Manchester's creative industries policies and enterprises, O'Connor and Gu content that,

> Creative industries policy should be conceived as a kind of urban policy. Creative industries benefit from and contribute to the image of the city, but they are also embedded in its social and cultural life. Creative industries tend to actively share a narrative of urban regeneration, local identity and the 'creative city' (2010: 133).

Below I provide evidence of the evolution of 'creative city' activity in Hobart, as enmeshed with tourism, events, and city-building strategies.

5.3.1 Dark Park

The narrative of culture-led urban regeneration is most evidently enacted in the development of the Macquarie Point brownfield site, located at the Hobart waterfront. In hindsight, the collaboration between Mona and the Macquarie Point Development Corporation (MPDC) appears orchestrated or inevitable, based on the multiple overlapping aspirations and spatial engagements at Sullivans Cove. In practice, the development of Mona and Dark Park emerged organically and was not an anticipated element of this research project, as the waterfront activity commenced two years into my candidature. As the relationship crystallised, the genesis of the developments was traced and reflectively drawn out through fieldwork notes, interviews and analysis of the 2015 festival itself. As with Mona's own development, the collaboration at Macquarie Point can be understood as a changing, non-linear and shifting process.

Dark Park was established in 2015, as a festival precinct for Dark Mofo. Since then, it has continued as an ongoing and increasingly central element of the winter festival. The genesis of Dark Park was indirectly inspired by the success of the 'Ferris Wheel of Death' which was situated to the entrance of the Winter Feast in 2014. Following this gothic carnival ride, the festival team commissioned artists to build a ghost train for a 'dark theme park' (Carmichael, interview, 2015), as a play on David Walsh's frequently quoted description of Mona as a 'subversive Disneyland for adults' (Strickland, 2009: 38). Although the ghost train was not realised in time for the festival, the initial theme park concept remained.

The Dark theme park idea resonated with the core principles of the winter festivals, as Carmichael explained: 'when Dark Mofo first started, David said that if we did another festival it had to be different from the festival we have already got [MONA FOMA] - and it should embrace large scale public art - that was the kind of initial driver from him' (Carmichael, interview, 2015). Walsh's inspiration for the winter festival was motivated by the Munster project in Germany (Lim, 2013), a world renowned festival of contemporary art and 'sculptural interventions' in public spaces (Buren, et al., 1997). The Munster project has run since 1977, and has provided a 'long-term study of the complex relationship between art and public realm' (Munster Art Public, n.d). Walsh's vision for a Munster-inspired public art project particularly resonates with the Dark Park precinct, which in 2015 was home to four separate large-scale artworks[48] in a publicly accessible space. Dark Mofo had previously engaged with large-scale public art with the highly patronised and supported work, *Spectra* (2013), which projected light beams in the night sky for the duration of the inaugural winter festival.[49]

Dark Park is installed at the Macquarie Point site, which in 2013 was earmarked for development. Dark Mofo Senior Programmer Lucy Forge described the fortuitous meeting that launched the festival's engagement with the site.

> I've worked for other organisations in Melbourne, in big cities, where you hear about this, you set up a meeting, you put forward a solid proposal. Here it's so much more just about who knows who and conversations that happen in a pub or whatever, and someone knows this person…I don't know the actual story of how or where, but that was a conversation that Duckpond[50] had with somebody, …Macquarie Point, obviously that's a huge development… I think that they were actively wanting to start targeting cultural organisations to help them activate it in a way that was meaningful for them, and for their brand (Forge, interview, 2015).

[48] The *Ogoh Ogoh* sculptures by Balinese artists, *Landscape for Fire* and *Solid Light Work* by Cameron Robbins, and *Fire Organ* by Bastiaan Maris. Also onsite was *Bass Bath* presented by Bryon J Scullin and Supple Fox, which has a $10 cover fee and required hearing protection.

[49] Such was the enthusiasm for this artwork, a public Facebook page was established to lobby to make the artwork a permanent fixture.

[50] Duckpond is the name of a festival staff member, who is contracted during Dark Mofo as a project manager for specific elements of the festival. He bears a resemblance to David Walsh, and frequently informs members of the public that he is the owner of Mona.

This chance connection was similarly explained by Carmichael. 'The space has been sitting there for a while…I don't know how we got onto that. I think Duckpond was door-knocking and found it, so that was kind of interesting' (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

Dark Park was a free element of the Dark Mofo, and Forge explained the necessity of providing low barriers to entry to ensure the success of the festival and its engagement with the city as, 'If a large part of it isn't free or at least very cheap, that's never going to be achieved' (Forge, interview, 2015). The significance of a free space was rearticulated by Carmichael, who explained 'I think it was really important because it was cost free entry, so it brought in a whole new audience' (Carmichael, interview, 2015). In a broader context than Dark Park, the Dark Mofo festivals have a specific agenda of providing free access to art and culture. Carmichael explained,

> We would have far more free events in the festival if we could afford it. I think it is fundamental to the festival that we have free access to art, and serious art, which set us apart initially with the original MONA FOMAs. …I think the fact that we give away the best stuff is really important. It's about audience development and audience experience, and having access to great art that they wouldn't normally get! (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

The impact of Dark Park was enhanced by its constant presence during Dark Mofo and Macquarie Point became a precinct of the festival where,

> having a central space that is always accessible…it's just so important for creating the central kind of energy, the heart of that festival the people can constantly move in and out of…I'm at the festival, this is the festival feeling. *I don't ever get to go have an experience like this at any other time in this city* (Forge, interview, 2015, emphasis added).

The Macquarie Point Dark Park site was the only un-ticketed space in the 2015 festival where the public were able to purchase a drink - all other bars for the festival required

ticketed entry.[51] This facilitated a lively space where the public felt able to loiter over a period of time, operating as a Goffmanesque 'third space' (Goffman, 1959).

Dark Mofo is particularly engaged in transforming the experience of being in Hobart. In 2015, several projects ran for the duration of the festival, including the *Nightship* (Anthony McCall) and *Pulse Tower* (Rafael Lozano-Hemmer). Both performed as visual beacons, comparable to the large scale light work *Spectra* as part of the 2013 festival. Carmichael described these durational works as significant since they 'signify that the festival is on, and alive and happening' (Carmichael, interview, 2015). He also acknowledged that it

> …is probably borne out of *Spectra*, and having that on from start to finish, letting it run all night, is something we have been trying to continue with…and Dark Park, just churning away all the time, really ties all that other activity together in some ways. It becomes a thread woven right through the festival. And yeah, I think with the themes we are exploring, the cycles, having a start and finish marked by lights going on and being turned off is incredibly powerful and important (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

This physical takeover of the city, visually signified by the large-scale light works and Paint the Town Red campaign (discussed Chapter Five), highlights Mona's embeddedness in the city and the desire for multiple organisations and individuals to be associated with the Dark Mofo.

The broad appeal of the festival, and its literal take over of the city scape, has resulted in widespread enthusiasm for the event. In a representative residents survey conducted by the ARC Linkage Project 'Creating the Bilbao Effect: Mona and the Social and Cultural Coordinates of Urban Regeneration Through Arts Tourism' (Franklin et al., 2012), 78% of respondents had attended at least one of the Dark Mofo festivals since its inception in 2013. In 2015 there were 76 000 attendances at Dark Park (with 280 000 overall festival attendances) (fieldwork, 2015).[52] Attendances to Dark Park in 2015 were only 4000 fewer

[51] In festival debrief meetings it was acknowledged that the 2015 site planning would have benefited from allowing full access across the different project locations with purchased drinks, rather than being restricted to the Hendricks tent and Mona food and beverage stall area, which somewhat limited movement and prohibited free roaming throughout the site. These limits of the liquor licensing somewhat minimised the overall cohesion of the site; however strong attendance numbers demonstrated that it did not negatively impact on public engagement.

[52] These numbers do not represent unique attendances, but any visitation to any of the festival sites.

that the total number of attendances to the entire Dark Mofo festival in 2013 (fieldwork, 2015). This public engagement was identified by Conroy, whose research found that 79.5% of interviewed participants felt 'a particular pride and ownership of the Dark MOFO event' (Conroy, 2013). Additionally, in a research poll of over 600 greater Hobart residents (commissioned by the Property Council of Australia), 74% of respondents were positive about providing financial support for Dark Mofo via council rates, highlighting the perceived value the festival brings to the city (cited in Smith, 2016b).

In Chapter Nine I discuss how public engagement with Dark Park in 2015 has been capitalised upon through a public space collaboration and subsequent Master Plan between Mona and Macquarie Point Development Corporation.

5.4 Mona Monoculture

In addition to stimulating new approaches for examining the city, it is significant to note that Mona's impact has also been critiqued from within local cultural circles. The term Mona Effect has also colloquially been re-appropriated and emerged as a pejorative term, used to convey exasperation at government arts policy and perceived domination of Mona for arts funding, frustration over queues at cafes and restaurants, or rising property prices (fieldwork, 2014, 2015). In 2012, Fitzgibbon observed a 'Mona backlash', noting that with the saturation of media coverage the museum has garnered, 'it's little wonder some locals are rolling their eyes about it' (2012: 24).

While Mona was initially entirely privately funded (and largely met with local pride and endorsement, [Ryan, 2016]) concerns have been raised by some members of the Tasmanian cultural community, that publicly funded arts and cultural organisations have had to share the limited available resources, as the state and local governments begin to financially support MONA FOMA festival and affiliated events (fieldwork, 2014-2015). Similar criticisms have been levelled at the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao for re-routing government funding from other local cultural centres and activities (Gomez, 1998; Gonzales, 2011).

This re-routing was identified by an interview participant who described Mona's influence as 'unconsciously or indirectly operating as a gentrifying force' which may have a detrimental impact on the local arts community (Newitt, interview, 2014). The director of Contemporary Arts Tasmania articulated that 'there is actually far less opportunity on the

ground for Tasmanian artist than there was before', although he did not see this loss of opportunity as directly caused by Mona or Dark Mofo (Edwards, interview, 2015).

In a climate where arts, culture and economic regeneration are discussed and promoted by both state and local government (e.g. HCC, 2010; O'Byrne 2013), fieldwork and seminar discussions (2013, 2014, 2015) revealed a frustration at the rhetoric of support without the resources to realise these cultural goals. O'Connor and Shaw describe this as the 'economic imaginary' where 'the disjuncture between rhetoric and reality will lead to revised policy settings, but not necessarily to the benefit of the creative sector' (2014: 165). These frustrations highlight the difficulties of fully 'embedding' an institution where there are limited resources to sustain a rich environment of cultural production to support and compliment an institution such as Mona.

Representatives of the City of Hobart also raised concerns at the creeping omni-presence of the Mona brand. Jane Castle explained that 'there is a whole culture around organisations which have been here forever and ever and are doing amazing arts and culture things' (Castle, interview, 2014). She expanded by saying '…Mona is so bright and shiny and amazing, but also there is a layer there which needs support. It is the bread and butter, and what it is all based upon…' Philip Holliday from the City of Hobart described the potential of a Mona mono-culture, 'just consuming everything' which could prove detrimental for small organisations (Holliday, interview, 2014). It is these small organisations 'who are perhaps under-recognised and underfunded' which are the producers and developers of 'local content' (Castle, interview, 2014). This tension between large-scale events/organisations and local content production was recognised in the context of Newcastle, by Renew Newcastle founder Marcus Westbury. He described how initial culture-leg urban interventions in that city were largely concerned with importing culture:

> …the idea that Newcastle actually produced original culture was an afterthought. I did alright personally - some festivals I started brought artists and considerable audiences (fulfilling the tourism side of the equation), but the local creative community as a whole gained little (Westbury, 2008: n.p.).

Mona may provide a platform for content (e.g. the Mona art prize, Sunday jazz sessions, umbrella programing for festival content etc.), but its primary business does not directly generate new local material. David Walsh acknowledged that 'Mona does present

lots of local content, particularly at the festivals, but the very act of making choices suppresses those not chosen' (Walsh, 2018). Philip Holliday from the City of Hobart explained that 'without that base level ongoing cultural activity…if that dies there is nothing' (Holliday, interview, 2014). The necessity of supporting a range of activities in the cultural economy, grassroots creative activity in the city and the policies and funding which supports this breadth of activity are further discussed in Chapter Eight.

Conclusion

This chapter has established the centrality of Mona and Dark Mofo in the cultural, economic and political landscape of Hobart, and described the relationships and governance structures which have facilitated the growing impact of Mona. In providing this preliminary overview of the Mona Effect narrative, I have framed the theoretical and logistical background upon which to explore the empirical evidence of Mona's engagement with the city in the following chapters. I have described the growing role of Mona in governance, urban design and cultural activity in the city.

This substantive evidence of Mona's integration with the cultural landscape, policy and government strategies also demands that I revisit my previous arguments which attempted to distance Mona from a Bilbao Effect model of culture-led urban regeneration. Here I argue that Mona's irreverent cultural independence has become coupled with a growing political interdependence. The subsequent chapters will explore the extent to which the impacts of Mona both deviate from a policy transfer prototype, and have progressively moved towards aligning with this established GLAMUR (Plaza, 2008) structure.

This dual narrative informs Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, where I provide an account and analysis of how Dark Mofo became embedded in Hobart, through in-depth studies of the Winter Feast, Paint the Town Red campaign and Party in the Lane. In these chapters I reassert the importance of the museum and the festival's embeddedness in the cultural economy of the city, and how this distributed agency enables Mona to draw upon the specificities of the Hobart context, and how this locatedness is central to Mona's success. I explore the interconnected chains of impact stimulated by Dark Mofo and Mona, and how these connections in turn support an atmosphere of cultural activity in the city of Hobart.

Chapter Six: Consuming Mona

The previous chapter introduced the broad impacts of Dark Mofo on the cultural economy of Hobart, and established the multiple and complex ways in which Mona has become embedded in the local cultural, political and social environment. Here I discuss how Mona's engagement with the city has been partly facilitated by the museum's interactions with the food and beverage industries as part of the cultural economy of the state.

Firstly, I examine how Mona has stimulated, relied upon, and incorporated food culture into the development and success of its own brand, and trace the links between art, viticulture and gastronomy which structured the initial relationship between the Moorilla winery and the development of the museum. I then explore how food, art and cultural activity has been transported beyond the boundaries of the museum at Berriedale via projects such as the Mona Markets (MoMa) and the Dark Mofo Winter Feast. Both the winter festivals and summer markets deliberately curate experimental and carnivalesque atmospheres and promote artisan products which are specific to the Tasmanian environment.

Secondly, I examine how food and culture are increasingly interlinked through Mona and Dark Mofo's branding. Activity within the food and beverage industry has emerged as a primary mechanism to stimulate new developments in the city and connect with pre-existing practices and businesses through a distributed agency model, particularly through the Paint the Town Red initiative. In charting the development of Mona's food and beverage related activity in loose chronology (from the Mona Markets to the Winter Feast), I demonstrate how these initiatives have both built capacity and lowered barriers for entry into the sector.

6.1 Moorilla to Mona

The relationship between the Mona brand and gastronomy is co-constitutive and precedes the museum's opening. The Alcorso estate established a vineyard on the Berriedale site in 1958, which David Walsh purchased in 1995. In 2009 the vineyard was rebuilt alongside the development of the museum. The vineyard's website highlights that the 'emphasis on the production of wines is designed to mirror Mona's overall philosophy, and importantly, encourage visitors to engage all senses - sometimes unexpectedly' (Moorilla, 2015). This multisensory approach is echoed in the design of the museum, with the Void bar featuring prominently upon descent into the museum. Walsh proclaimed the bar would be

'the first thing you see. We'll have functions here, rock bands, DJs, all kinds of events' (quoted in Lohrey, 2010: n.p.).

The link between local produce and the cultural industries is increasingly acknowledged in academic literature, particularly regarding locavore philosophy (Woodward and Bremner, 2015) and tourism (Frost et al., 2016). A study into cottage industries and Tasmanian agriculture recognised that, 'artisanal food product - as a cultural product - turns intangibles, such as care, passion, creativity, into commodities' and that 'food product (i.e. the commodity) becomes a signifier of these intangibles' (Gralton, 2008: 82). Locally produced food therefore embodies the 'craft of production' (Gralton, 2008: 76) and sense of place within a saleable product. Additionally, Harwood (2011) demonstrates that 'sense of place' is particularly significant in island communities, such as Tasmania, where art and produce has a tangible quality of being culturally informed by locality and environment.

Gilmore's research into cultural participation in the town of Macclesfield in the UK found a need for the 're-appraisal of the value of everyday and vernacular cultures and their relation to formal and legitimate cultures in cultural research' (2013: 88). This research into local food and beverage production assists to reframe the Mona Effect narrative by exploring activity which is interconnected with Mona, but reflects a vernacular experience. As discussed in Section 6.4, locality is explicitly employed as a marketing device by Dark Mofo to foster a unique and identifiable brand, while simultaneously drawing on international trends, influences and mobilities.

Gastronomy and fine art have multiple sites of intersection at Mona. The onsite restaurant The Source eponymously references the John Olsen painting (2002-03) suspended at the entrance to the building; photographs of Ballet Lab performers encase the Moorilla wine bottles; and John Kelly's design is featured on the Moo Brew beer label (Image 7).[53] Commissioning art work for wine labels is not exclusive to Mona (Negrin, 2015: 419), but demonstrates the emphasis on Mona's multisensory experience and the established links between the museum and consumption. Prior to the opening of Mona, Negrin identified the relationship between art and gastronomy at Moorilla, where the Moorilla Museum of Antiquities housed the art collection in 'close proximity to its restaurant and wine tasting area' (2009: 12). Negrin, as well as Charters and Pettigrew (2005) highlight the mutually

[53] Kelly's design for the Moo Brew labels plays with the iconography and motif of the Australia Council logo. This irreverence is celebrated on the Moo Brew website (Moo Brew, n.d).

transformative experience of both art and wine, which have the 'capacity to transport the individual into a world beyond that of ordinary, mundane existence' (Negrin, 2009: 13).

The Dark Mofo programs have similarly engaged with food as an art form, with events such as the Curiouser and Curiouser Red Queen Feast (Dark Mofo, 2013a), Red Death Ball (with a coffin filled with charcuterie) (Dark Mofo, 2014) and Wild and Heart (featuring an edible jelly installations of penises and breasts) (Dark Mofo, 2015a).[54] The museum's permanent collection features *On the Road to Heaven and Highway to Hell* (2008) by Stephen Shanabrook, a sculpted figure of a suicide bomber, cast in chocolate.

Image 7: John Kelly's label designs for Moo Brew labels. (Moo Brew, n.d).

Beyond examples of Mona featuring food *as* art, this research establishes how Mona as an institution is inherently connected to gastronomy and viticulture, and how hospitality and service industries have been aided by the museum and festival's arrival and development. The director of the Tasmanian Cultural Industries (TCI) highlighted how food and locavore industries have traditionally sat within tourism and service industries in Tasmania but are increasingly aligning with 'creative industries' through innovation, bespoke products, and emphasis on branding (Bonney, interview, 2016). Here I demonstrate how Mona and Dark

[54] All of these events were ticketed with small numbers.

Mofo directly interact with gastronomy enterprises to form both temporary and permanent partnerships in the cultural economy of the state.

6.2 Dark Mofo and Food/Beverages

As established in Chapter Three, Dark Mofo was built upon the prior success of MONA FOMA. A survey revealed the cultural impact of the summer festival as:

> MONA FOMA appears to have a very positive effect on visitors' perceptions of Tasmania as a place for cultural pursuits. Over 80% of respondents said that their attendance at MONA FOMA had raised their opinion of Tasmania as a place to experience live music, visual arts and modern culture. 56% said it had improved their perception of Tasmania as a place to enjoy fine food, wine and boutique beers (Mona, 2012: 6).

Dark Mofo's description as a festival of 'large-scale public art, food, film, music, theatre, light and noise' (Dark Mofo 2013a, 2014, 2015a and 2016) positions gastronomy as a primary element of the festival. In a report compiled for the 2013 Dark Mofo[55], survey responses showed that among both Tasmanian and non-Tasmanian residents, the primary category for spending during Dark Mofo was 'meals and drinks'. Interstate and overseas attendees reported a total average spend of $474, while local residents reported $266. The 2014 research yielded similar results, with interstate/international Dark Mofo attendees reporting 'meals and drinks' as the highest average spend category at $518, and local residents recording an average spend of $201 on the same category.[56] The economic impact of the festival is therefore largely located within local and interstate expenditure on 'meals and drinks', ahead of the other reported categories of accommodation, travel to Tasmania, entertainment, shopping, or travel within the state (fieldwork, 2015).

In 2015, Dark Mofo's submission for government funding reported findings from the Institute of Project Management that 'the greatest impact on employment' as a direct result of the festival was in the 'Accommodation and Food Services Sector.' This sector accounted for

[55] The report was compiled as part of the Events Tasmania Research Program

[56] This data is taken from internal Mona and Events Tasmania acquittal reports. I was granted access to as part of my research in the festival office. The report cautions against interpretative comparisons between 2013 and 2014 spending levels (in which the total average spend of all attendees was down from $1285 in 2013 to $1119 in 2014) due to different methods for recruitment of participants between the two data sets.

almost ‘a third of the total increase in output’ and ‘nearly half (48 per cent) of the jobs created’ as a result of the festival (Dark Mofo, 2015b: 94).

The following sections detail the developments of products and businesses from the Mona Market to the Winter Feast, and the wider restaurant and cafe culture in the city which is stimulated by, and supportive of, Dark Mofo. I demonstrate how Dark Mofo organisers utilise food and beverages as part of their cultural output, and describe how local food production interacts with cultural activity as part of a broader cultural economy, and a night-time economy in particular. Night-time leisure economies are predicated on the ‘allure of liminal opportunities’, where individuals submit to the ‘general authority of hedonism’ (Hobbs et al., 2000: 711) and generate a sense of communitas. As established by Franklin (2014), Mona’s own hedonistic branding promotes Dionysian indulgence and carnivalesque excess, and assists to create social togetherness. Dark Mofo both exploits and expands Hobart’s pre-exiting night-time economy (see Chapter Seven) to develop a city environment conducive to high levels of nocturnal activity.

The city and waterfront areas where there are high concentrations of bars and restaurants are particularly significant to facilitating activity in the night-time economy. As Hobbs et al. describe, nightlife:

> requires designated spaces, and these city centre pleasure zones are entertainment quarters that function as zones of patterned liminality which must create the impression of being set-aside and secluded from the principle arenas of normative, non-liminal social life (2000: 711).

In anthropological scholarship, night-time is symbolically aligned with death and darkness (Bourdieu, 1977: 148). Dark Mofo branding explicitly connects the winter solstice with night and darkness as a central curatorial concept of the festival. Through integrating with a pre-existing precinct of nocturnal activity in the CBD and waterfront areas, Dark Mofo has capitalised upon the night-time economy of Hobart. Dark Mofo’s engagement with the night-time economy of the Hobart CBD and waterfront precincts partly originated from the MoMa summer markets. These markets provided a training ground for local enterprises, which were subsequently showcased as part of the Dark Mofo Winter Feast, and integrated with the broader economy of Tasmania through external and ongoing ventures. Below I

explore the 'sustainable webs of local businesses' (Miles, 1997: 107) which both build up to the festival, and stem out from it as part of the wider cultural economy of the city.

6.3 MoMa: Mona Markets

The Mona Markets (MoMa) began in 2012, and are held on the Mona grounds every Sunday from late January to late March. The free weekend event offers a range of activities and experiences, with stall holders divided between the practices of 'art', 'craft', and 'food and produce'. MoMa attendees lounge on pink Mona beanbags on the lawns, watch performances on the stage as part of the Jazz at MoMa (JAM) programming, stroll with cold beers, peruse artisan wares, and observe museum staff in detailed costumed outfits (themed to match with events and holidays including Easter and Australia Day). In addition to offering free admission and performances, the programming includes the 'MoMa Minors', which provides art and science based activities for children (and parents).

MoMa is curated to follow an annual theme (Eat The Problem, 2014; Heavy Metals, 2015; and Fermentation Labs, 2016), and is directed by Kirsha Kaechele (artist, and wife of owner David Walsh), Natalie Holtsbaum (art installations, craft and design), Jen Murnaghan (MoMa Minors), Jo Cook (food), and Brian Ritchie and Martin Blackwell (music) (MoMa, 2016). MoMa provides fertile ground for examining how the museum forges formal but temporary connections with entrepreneurs throughout Tasmania, and demonstrates the wider cultural economy within which the museum is connected.

Jo Cook explained that the markets were originally envisaged as a place where fresh local produce could be sold and exchanged,

> I've worked for Mona for four years. First of all researching the market, where the initial brief was for it to be a produce market…and we really invited a lot of community business in. And we tried to create vegetable swapping and all that type of thing. But we found it just wasn't the place for it... we found that people really want to come to Mona for the experience, not to shop (Cook, interview, 2015).

The 'spectacle' of visiting Mona has also been illustrated through visitor responses (Booth, pers. comm., 2016) where the broader experience of attending the grounds was cited as a highlight of the Mona experience. In response to this desire for 'experience', the market

model shifted to selling prepared dishes from local chefs. Jo Cook chiefly aims to cater 'to the locals' through high quality produce and by creating strong local connections and experiences, as well as enhancing the tourist market for local specialties. The market coordinator described, 'tourists and other people want to go where the locals go, because you get more, an authentic experience' (Cook, interview, 2015).

6.3.1 Capacity Building

In addition to providing a platform for high quality local gastronomy, the markets facilitate a training ground for emerging businesses. Potential stallholders were identified by Cook for their innovative products, which used local produce in unconventional ways. Cook explained that she was able to create a 'place that was a starting ground for new businesses, so I could mentor them through the way and kind of mould them, so that then they could build up their business' (Cook, interview, 2015). Due to the contained size, and short season (January to Easter) of MoMa, the markets offer a 'good place to start and practice' for emerging businesses, with a steady flow of patrons without being overly intimidating (Cook, interview, 2015). Businesses which were initially launched at MoMa and have since opened permanent restaurants, cafes or recurring market stalls in Hobart include: the Tasmanian Whisky Tours, Tasmanian Quartermasters, Pacha Mama, Honey Child and Lady Hester.

In the inaugural year of MoMa, twenty-nine food and beverage stallholders participated in the markets.[57] Several of these emerging culinary businesses at MoMa were subsequently invited to hold a stall at the large-scale food and music event, the Dark Mofo Winter Feast. Cook explained that she strategically builds capacity and skills sets so that stallholders 'learn about really large-scale catering, and festivals and the difference, and they go on and do the Taste [of Tasmania] and other festivals' (Cook, interview, 2015). This capacity building is beneficial to Mona by providing patrons at MoMa and Dark Mofo with a variety of innovative and exciting food offerings, and in stimulating a wider cultural economy in the city.

[57] The full list of MoMa food stallholders as of December 2015 (as provided by food curator Jo Cook): Red Robin Jam, Sea Shanti, Macarons by Ruby, Harvest Feast, Mark Eather Seafood, Chado - the Way of Tea, Touching Space Ice Cream, Lady Hester, Black Mountain Ice Cream, Red Sails Cider, Lost Pippin Cider, Willie Smiths Cider, Coal Valley Cider, The 21st Amendment, Tasmanian Whisky Tours bar, Captain Bligh's Ale & Cider, Tasmanian Quartermasters, Shoebox Café, Urban Bounty, Pacha Mama, Ollie Bella, Cygneture Chocolates, PanTree Produce, The Porky Duck, Drumhead, Empty Cocoon, McHenry's Distillery, Honey Child & Sweet MacQueen, and Evie and Ginger.

Fostering local expertise through a range of connections- formal, informal, temporary, permanent- avoids the top-down urban regeneration model, which academic literature has found results in local residents being excluded from benefiting from the arrival of a cultural institution (e.g. Garcia, 2004; Bianancci, 1999). The importance of these connections was identified by Oakley, who explained,

> … I think this is important to have kind of wider benefits across the state, because unlike the great sort of cultural flagship, which tends to be located in a big city, you know, food production is small scale because it's spread across the state, involves lots of small businesses (seminar notes, Altered State seminar, 2015).

This sentiment was echoed by Cook, who explained that 'because Tassie is such a small place, you want success for everybody, and that is available' (Cook, interview, 2015). Cook specifically invites producers from outside of Hobart in order to expose local residents to new products, and to give opportunities to producers outside the capital city (Cook, interview, 2015). Interviews with two stall holders and a local restaurateur revealed the importance of statewide connections when listing their suppliers (interviews with Steel, 2015; Proud, 2015; A. James, 2015 and 2016).[58]

Cook explained how the fostering model 'proved to be a really successful formula' that 'is building, and has been changing the food scene in Hobart' (Cook, interview, 2015). This changing food scene has been recognised both locally and internationally in media publications, where the Mona Effect has been cited as stimulating activity, identity and prestige; and creating a unified narrative which can explain the growth of local food and beverage industries (e.g. Salmon, 2016; Teague, 2015; Coslovich, 2012). The local newspaper, *The Mercury*, reported that 25 new restaurants opened in 2015, and recognised that 'the decision by Tourism Australia to pick Hobart to host the finale to its $40 million Restaurant Australia campaign in November shows how far the state's food scene has come' (Hope, 2016). In 2016 a chef shortage resulting in 300 vacant positions was reported (up from 150 employment opportunities in 2015), due to a growing tourism sector in the state (Crawley, 2016). This dramatic growth in food and beverage activity cannot be directly

[58] To differentiate between interview participants Adam James and Liam James, I have included their initials. Other participants are cited by last name only.

attributed to Mona, but demonstrates how the museum and festivals are part of the growing cultural and tourism economy.

6.3.2 Experience and Exposure

A broad cultural economy of complex interrelations is also promoted through the workshop events held at MoMa (eg. the Fermentation Lab series in 2016). These workshops encourage participation from the public and the sharing of knowledge. One of the major criticisms levelled at the Mona festivals in public discussion (forums and public seminars) has been the lack of developmental or workshop activities as part of festival programming. Since Dark Mofo's arrival, the biannual Ten Days festival has offered a suite of 18 events in 2015 and over 50 interlinked mentor relationships, master classes, workshops, artist talks, technical secondments, school visits and artist exchanges in 2013 (Ten Days 2013; Ten Days, 2015b). While MoMa does not provide opportunities on this scale, the market model enables more active participation and development-focused activity through workshops and master classes, with food and produce a driving mechanism of this engagement (along with art, craft and science). As outlined above, this developmental approach for market stallholders and participatory model for patrons has provided fertile ground for the Dark Mofo Winter Feast's success.

The capacity-building of MoMa was also recognised by stallholders in regards to granting exposure to a new business. Adam James, who began his Rough Rice stall at MoMa at the invitation of Jo Cook, explained,

> I am still a very new brand and not one I am pushing at all, but I guess I have had lots of recognition just through that affiliation with both the Mona Market at the festival, and I have even had people enquiring from interstate about where they can buy certain things, or if I can go over and cook at various things. So it is excellent, especially since I have only been active at half a dozen markets and one of the festivals, so it has actually been pretty huge in that sense (A. James, interview, 2015).

The stallholder emphasised the value of media coverage - in print and radio - generated by his stall at MoMa, and the growth of his social media following through being associated with the Mona Markets' Instagram hashtag. This exposure was valued by James,

however, he also highlighted that the markets were 'hundreds of hours of work, and huge amounts of stress' that did not yield a strong financial reward. While there is robust criticism discussing the exploitative aspects of unpaid (or underpaid) labour in exchange for 'exposure' in the cultural industries more broadly (see Oakley, 2009), for this interview participant 'exposure' was viewed in a highly positive light. James explained that the benefits of MoMa exposure (coupled with the experience of knowing how better to approach the markets in future) validated the energy and time spend on setting up a stall (A. James, interview, 2016).

This theme of exposure was rearticulated by Tasmanian ceramicist, Lindsey Wherrett, who was invited to have a stall at MoMa by design and craft curator Natalie Holtsbaum. While the weekend was not a financial success for Wherrett, it provided exposure which was 'not necessarily good for sales, but it is good to be seen' (Wherrett, interview, 2015). The power of Mona's branding was recognised by stallholders as holding value beyond direct financial return, while simultaneously acknowledging the necessity of being financially recompensed for their labour in the longer term.

6.3.3 Whisky Business

The case of the Tasmanian Whisky Tours further illustrates the role of Mona in proving a platform for emerging businesses. Business founder Brett Steel moved to Hobart in 2011 - prior to Dark Mofo's development - with a view to 'enjoying everything that Mona was bringing to this island' (Steel, interview, 2015). The entrepreneur has a family history in viticulture, and cited the caliber of local whisky as an initial attractor to the state, where he intended to establish a wine and whisky bar. However, maintaining a financially successful bar throughout the winter season was deemed prohibitive as 'bar numbers didn't add up as a business plan over six months or so'. Steel explained, 'at that time there was no Dark Mofo or winter festivals and so the risk was quite high, the numbers didn't necessarily add up without the tourism behind it' (Steel, interview, 2015). In 2011 Steel could identify the opportunity for niche whisky marketing, but could not foresee the arrival of the Dark Mofo festivals which would significantly augment winter tourism activity.

After working at the Salamanca Arts Centre when he first moved to the state, Steel developed the concept of the Tasmanian Whisky Tours, with flexibility of the business structure mitigating the potential threat of low tourist engagement throughout winter. Between 2011 and 2015, the business grew to become affiliated with eight distilleries (of

fourteen in the state) and expanded to include tours catering to cider and wine enthusiasts (seven cideries and nine vineyards, including Moorilla). Steel described his business as part of a connected community of producers, with the tours providing an integrated way of 'building the industry up outside of individual distilleries without having to do their own marketing' (Steel, interview, 2015).

The significance of marketing was directly addressed by Steel, who was unambiguous about the influence of Mona on the branding of his business.

> Coming from a marketing background this was a key question that I was trying to resolve when I was setting up the business, going right through to design and the look and the feel… my three core audiences were the 25-50 Mona demographic who are interested in the food and wine experiences, coming from Sydney and Melbourne for your weekend getaways. Number two was the idea of that older generation, potentially retired, all the kids have left home, and that's your 50-65 demographic, who were primarily Tasmania's tourists for the last 20, 30-odd years before Mona…Then outside of that was international tourists that made up a very small amount, but what you could reach were whisky enthusiasts that would specifically come to Tasmania for that whisky experience. So that was the feel, and in the end I didn't really know which market it was going to be, so I designed my brand, the look and the feel, around the target market that I wanted to spend time with and that was that 25-49, simply put, Mona demographic (Steel, interview, 2015).

This quote captures multiple elements of Mona's impact on local industry, including themes of brand status, narratives of changing tourism, emerging demographics, and the 'cool factor' associated with the museum.

The branding for the Whisky Tours was executed by local design agency Futago, 'and that came about because of a friend of mine was a young designer there at the agency at the time' (Steel, interview, 2015). Steel explained 'they had done some amazing work with The Agrarian Kitchen, Pagan Cider, and I liked the idea of working with a small, boutique, young agency based here in Hobart' (Steel, interview, 2015). This role of personal connections in a small community, connectedness of local cultural industries, and the stimulation to industry that new businesses bring was a recurring theme in interviews, and echoes finding by Harvey et al. regarding the role of personal networks in small communities (2012).

In 2014, Steel launched the Whisky Tours at MoMa as a means to gain exposure and connection with the established Mona brand:

> I did my first Mona market last year, MoMa. Jo Cook, who's one of the food curators down here, asked me if I wanted to have a stall there and that was right when the whisky tours were getting launched, so that was a good way for me to have public exposure through there (Steel, interview, 2015).

Image 8: Mona Market's promotion of The Tasmanian Whisky Trail. (MoMa: 2014).

The launch of the Whisky Tours at MoMa granted high levels of exposure through visitors to the markets, as well as to the followers of the MoMa Facebook page (which by December 2017 had over 6000 followers). Steel recognised this exposure as invaluable, as his branding was 'very much around that target audience, so it was a conscious decision to want

to align with them' to the extent that 'when you see my brochures that are out there on the brochure racks…I want to be right next to the Mona flyers' (Steel, interview, 2015).

For the food and beverage industry in particular, formal, temporary or unofficial co-branding with Mona facilitates low barriers to entry, as small enterprises can rely on the marketing power of Mona to work on their behalf. As established in Chapter Two, Mona was not part of a regeneration strategy with intentions to economically, socially or culturally rejuvenate an area. However, the Mona markets provide a pathway for individuals, businesses and organisations to engage with the local cultural economy and foster their enterprise, through mentoring with the food curator, temporary engagement with the prestigious Mona grounds, limiting the requirements for expensive infrastructure, and allowing businesses the space to experiment. The MoMa stallholder model offers flexibility for an emerging business that would be prohibitive for a permanent café, bar or restaurant in the Hobart CBD.

6.4 Winter Feast

Another example of the emphasis on food and beverages in Dark Mofo programming is evident in the Winter Feast. The feast began in 2013 as part of the inaugural Dark Mofo and has since grown in ambition and scale. The festival tag line to 'celebrate the dark through large-scale public art, food, music, light and noise' (Dark Mofo, 2013a) is embodied in the feast, where all of these aspects are present. Hosted in the City of Hobart owned-and-operated Princes Wharf 1 (PW1), the feast is a spectacle of sensory engagement. In 2013 it attracted approximately 36 000 attendees over three nights, which grew to 42 801 over five evenings in 2015 (fieldwork, 2015). Initially in 2013 the Winter Feast was free, but transitioned to a ticketed paid event after the first year, with a $10 entry fee in 2014, and $20 in 2016[59]. In addition to food and beverage stall holders, the feast features guest chefs, roaming live performers, aerial artists, fire twirlers, choral collaborations with the Festival of Voices, and soaring flame installations. In a review of the 2014 Winter Festival, Ousten[60] described the feast:

> Stalls. Chefs. Gourmet everything. Punters crammed in like livestock. Vegetarians deciding 'fuck it, I'll just eat the beef, the lines are too long, the lines aren't even

[59] Excluding Sunday, which was free entry to patrons
[60] Ousten was subsequently employed as a copywriter for Mona in 2015.

> moving'. There's the feeling of a mosh pit, from when mosh pits were still a thing. Everyone's rubbing up against each other and everyone's having fun. There's a guy with a flaming whip. There are huge kebabs that look like carcasses on star-droppers. There's an acrobat and a Ferris Wheel of Death. Everyone's surprised by the turnout. Everyone turns out. Hobart is alive in the midst of all this death, replete with its own Hollywood lightshow and glowing rabbit. Gorge yourself. (Ousten, 2014).

This review captures the multisensory nature of the feast, and the palpable excitement of the event. Jo Cook and Leigh Carmichael specifically selected stallholders based on 'performative' aspects of their food production and display in order to curate a dramatic event incorporating food, performance, music and visual arts (Cook, interview, 2015; Carmichael, interview, 2015). Carmichael describes the Winter Feast as the 'heart and soul' of Dark Mofo, both in its location on the waterfront, and the social imaginary of public opinion and engagement (Carmichael, interview, 2015). The visual impact of the entry point is frequently featured in media coverage of the festival as a key identifier and visual hook.

Image 9: The entrance to the Dark Mofo Winter Feast entrance. Photo: Remi Chauvin/Mona. (Salmon, 2016).

In addition to the growth in attendance since 2013, the number of stallholders featured has developed from 35 in 2013, to 60 individual stalls in 2015 (see Appendix D). Stallholder Adam James, who began his food stall at MoMa, said that 'the Winter Feast is probably one

of the best food festivals I think I have ever been to. They put a lot of thought into it, not only the set up, but the stallholders themselves' (A. James, interview, 2015). This growth over a three-year time frame reflects increased public attendance, demands for new food options, and the emergence of new businesses.

Cook described the economic success of the Winter Feast for stallholders in 2013 and 2014.

> there has been a theory with the Taste [Taste of Tasmania] that people lose money the first time, break even the second, and start making money the third year. The Winter Feast, no one has lost money, none of my stallholders have lost money. Our fees are actually higher than the Taste. People say they do twice the amount of trade in half the amount of time. But some who don't do as well, they have just made a few thousand dollars. So that is not enough for the input, but at least it they haven't lost money (Cook, interview, 2015).[61]

All 2014 stallholders accepted invitations to participate in 2015,[62] and this eagerness for ongoing participation indicates the success of the Winter Feast for both Mona and the small businesses included under its banner.

This model of unofficial or transitory association with the Mona brand may enable the development of a robust cultural ecology without the threat of a 'Monafication' of the state. While Mona predominately operates through a 'buy in' model, purchasing fully resolved artworks and performances, the summer Mona Markets and Winter Feast promote ongoing local development. These businesses and individual pursuits exist as part of a cultural practice for the maker/producer throughout the year, and assist in building a strong local cultural economy. Mona is reliant upon the continued development of local cheese, whisky and jewelry (etc.) to provide the content for markets and festivals, and for the ongoing development and presence of Hobart's arts organisations to provide content and umbrella events for programming. Through these temporary connections, a more permanent underlying cultural fabric is stimulated, which extends beyond the remit of the museum but is entangled within a cultural economy of growing confidence and recognition.

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[61] The 'Taste' referred to here is the Taste of Tasmania, a summer food festival held at the same location as the Winter Feast. It has been running since 1988 and is organised by the CoH.

[62] Excluding one chocolatier who was unable to produce the quantities required when the event stretched to 5 days in 2015.

6.4.1 Public Appetite

In 2014, the popularity and success of the Winter Feast exceeded the expectations of organisers and surpassed their capacity to cope with the demand. As a result, some ticket holders were denied entry and were required to wait for extended periods. Festival Director, issued an apology for the overcrowding via social media and offered the opportunity to have pre-paid tickets refunded. Carmichael explained that the apology was intended to acknowledge the shortcomings of the event, as well as reminding the public of the many free Dark Mofo events the festival had subsidised (Carmichael, interview, 2015). The public response to this apology garnered over 500 comments and almost 5000 'likes' from the public across the Mona and Dark Mofo Facebook pages. The positive public feedback was centered around promoting Tasmania, bringing the city to life, the debt Hobart owes to David Walsh, transformation of Tasmanian winter, new pride in being Tasmanian, and the quality of both the Winter Feast event and wider activity throughout the city. The three selected comments below are reflective of the sentiments expressed in the 500 Facebook comments about the Winter Feast and the festival more broadly:

> We decided that even if we didn't make it in we probably owe you guys at least $10 for making Hobart come alive in winter and all year around. Might just head along earlier near year! Thankyou to everyone at Mona and the Dark Mofo team in particular (Penelope Clare, Dark Mofo Facebook, 22 June 2014).

> I'd stand in line just to show support for an awesome Tassie MOFO experience. You and your team have done an exceptional job and it showed because finally we Tasweigans got off our backsides and went along. I can't blame you for not being fully prepared but bring it on next year and you'll continue to be supported. Seeing Dark MOFO fully in swing made me proud to be from Tassie! Thank you David Walsh for everything you've done and continue to for the State (Sharlene Brown, Dark Mofo Facebook, 22 June 2014).

> One man and his team transform a city. No apology required (Sam Steven, Dark Mofo Facebook, 22 June 2014).

As discussed in the following chapter, food activity is instrumental in bringing people into the CBD and creating community atmosphere both during the festival, and subsequently throughout the year. The Facebook comments provide an insight into community understanding of how Dark Mofo has impacted the city, and what Klein describes as the 'soft' impact on the local community of how residents 'articulate their own perspective in the wake' of a festival (Klein, 2010: 517).

Although these comments were generated by a self-selecting group who had chosen to 'like' the Mona or Dark Mofo Facebook page online (and therefore already had a positive association with the festival), the high response rate highlights the personal connections people have with Mona, and their desire to voluntarily congratulate and thank the organisers of the festival presents a persuasive narrative of how the festival has invigorated and integrated with city life. It is important to note, however, that these comments were in the 'heyday' of Dark Mofo, when Booth et al. (2017) observed a likely 'opening effect' regarding popular reception of the museum. This initial popularity of Mona may have also translated to the festival.

In 2015, after criticism from the public relating to over-crowding and extensive queuing in the previous year, the Winter Feast logistics and operations team focused on providing a more comfortable and less chaotic visitor experience (fieldwork, 2015). As a result, one interview participant described the financial success of the festival for stallholders as diminished in 2015. He explained,

> …in that the year before was all about the stallholders and the stallholders did really well, but the punters had to queue. And so from the organisers' perspective it wasn't great for the participants. They tried to rectify that this year by having heaps more stalls, opening for two extra nights and charging more, which was very good for the punters because there were none of the line up disasters… but for the stallholders, pretty much everyone wasn't that positive about the whole experience. And a few people went as far to say that they were never going to do it again. So I think, from what I have heard, they are going to try and find that balance so that everyone is happy. Which is what you would want! (A. James, interview, 2015).

For James, both the Winter Feast and MoMa prompted him to experiment and expand his practice in the food industry, but did not necessarily result in direct financial success. He

explained that despite turning a profit every week, if he worked out his hourly wage 'it would probably be about $2.50' due to investments in equipment, time-consuming preparation of innovative food, and Sunday staffing rates (A. James, interview, 2015). Here, the idea of the cultural economy demonstrates that value is derived from the Mona Markets outside of traditional economic terms. Despite a lack of economic capital reward, alternative measures of 'value' were cited by James as justification for his participation (such as exposure and co-branding), and he returned to the markets in summer 2016. This account also highlights the fragility of temporary and informal connections with festivals and markets, which while stimulating a broad cultural economy beyond Mona, do not provide ongoing financial stability.

6.5 Barriers and Facilitators: Painting the Town Red

The low barriers to entry facilitated by MoMa for emerging food and beverage businesses are similarly encouraged by Dark Mofo through the Paint the Town Red campaign, which both stimulates activity during the festival period and draws upon pre-existing economic and cultural vibrancy. This initiative commenced with the inaugural 2013 festival, and performs as a city branding exercise, where local businesses tap into the prestige and marketing reach of the festival (and associated museum) by lighting up their business in red. The campaign is aligned with Destination Southern Tasmania and the Tasmanian Hospitality Association (2015), and participating organisations extend far beyond the perimeters of the city.[63]

In 2014 and 2015, the Tasman Bridge - one of the bridges that connects Hobart's east and west shores - was illuminated with red lights for the festival's duration, and the City of Hobart council chambers flew Dark Mofo flags. In 2016 the Hobart International Airport lit selective lights to create 'Welcome to (Hob)Art' signage. The concept resonates with the 'large-scale lights' element of the festival, and creates visual landmarks across the city.

[63] Including the Hobart airport and sites at the historic tourist location Port Arthur (fieldwork, 2015).

Image 10: Welcome to (Hob)Art, Hobart International Airport. Photo: David Crawford. (Young, 2016b).

The Paint the Town Red initiative is consistent with Renew Newcastle founder's approach to urban renewal, in promoting the reduction of 'problems down to a size so that individuals and small groups of people can tackle them with their own efforts' (Westbury, 2015: 73) rather than implementing broad sweeping solutions. Paint the Town Red provides a low barrier to entry for local businesses to participate in and benefit from the brand recognition Mona has fostered, and aligns with one the festival's original objectives, to 'brand Hobart as a vibrant and active city' (Mona, 2012: 3).

However, rather than enacting a parasitic relationship with the Dark Mofo identity, Paint the Town Red is understood by participants and festival organisers as symbiotic and mutually beneficial. Carmichael explained the festival's aims behind the aesthetically cohesive city-wide branding:

> We wanted to have the whole town celebrating, and I wanted to have this thing where visitors come in, wherever they are from, they come into the city and the whole city feels like one huge party… And for me, now it feels like it has got to a point where it is bigger than the festival. You can now be at a restaurant on the waterfront and feel like you are part of this energy and celebration that it happening. It is a true celebration. We [Dark Mofo] can't take up all the space, we can't activate all the restaurants (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

As an extension of this Mona-generated activity, local businesses appropriated the Mona visual language through a process of 'detournement' (Debord, 1957). Signage alterations and 're-employments' (De Certeua, 1984: 176) of Mona's aesthetics demonstrate the perceived power of Mona's branding and the enthusiasm for businesses to be associated with the festival activity, even if not part of the official program. Paint the Town Red economically, culturally and visually 'places' Mona in the city. The Dark Mofo aesthetic becomes embedded in the physical landscape as well as in the public's imagination though the layers of red imagery operating as a mnemonic device. In 2015, the initiative was embraced so widely there was a shortage of red light globe supplies in Hobart (Dark Mofo, 2015b: 34).

In 2015, the City of Hobart proposed illuminating nine council-owned sites across the city during the winter festival. The council facilitated communications with businesses participating in the City of Hobart's 'One City Centre One Hobart' program' to light up their buildings (CoH, 2015a). Council minutes recognise the synergy between the Paint the Town Red campaign and the priority areas of 'Economic Development, Vibrancy and Culture' as part of the city's economic development strategic plans.[64] The CoH recognised the significance of the campaign for city marketing and branding, as the 'illumination of City of Hobart assets would reinforce the commitment the City of Hobart has made to Dark Mofo and would assist in promoting Hobart to tourists and locals as a vibrant city and an emerging cultural destination in the winter months' (CoH, 2015a: 7).

Below is a selection of Paint the Town Red promotions used by local businesses and organisations during the Dark Mofo period. In addition to external red lights, restaurants, bars and cafes with rotating menus particularly capitalised on the opportunity to temporarily and unofficially co-brand with Mona to promote their business for financial gain. Carmichael explained, 'I think it's incredibly important that our interstate visitors get a sense of the whole community being involved in our midwinter revelry. This celebration is now much bigger than the festival itself' (quoted in Young, 2015: n.p.). The festivals therefore both facilitate and require citywide engagement for Dark Mofo's success.

[64] The specific Strategic Objectives this aligns with are: 1.1 'Effectively engage with the business community' and 1.6 'Work towards city activation in partnership with the business and the wider community' (CoH, 2015a: 2).

6.5.1 Paint the Town Red Examples

In 2014, the Brisbane Hotel produced a Dark Mofo event titled Grimoire. In 2015, the venue was no longer part of the official Dark Mofo program, but continued to play on the 'Mofo' branding and the hotel's previous associations with the festival.

Image 11: No* GRIMOIRE *Fo. (Brisbane Hotel, 2015).

The Winston is a pub located in North Hobart, which used the Paint the Town Red opportunity to celebrate dark beers in the winter months, and play on the distinctive Dark Mofo black and red sparse branding.

Image 12: Dark Beer for Mofos. (The Winston, 2015).

In 2015, the Dark Mofo 'Faux Mo' afterparty venue was located opposite the take-away shop Budgie Smugglers. The 'dimmy' dim sim special was available to Dark Mofo patrons, as the shop extended its opening hours to provide late night snacks.

Image 13: Dark Mofo Dimmy Special at Budgie Smugglers. (Personal image, 2015).

Pilgrim Cafe developed an 'unofficial' Dark Mofo menu which played with the aesthetics and branding of the festival. The cafe also updated its social media site with a post to inform festival attendees that opening hours had been adjusted for Dark Mofo.

Image 14, 15 and 16: Pilgrim: The Unofficial Dark Mofo Menu. (Pilgrim Coffee, 2015).

6.5.2 Illuminating the City

City activation through red lighting resonates with previous recommendations for the City of Hobart for 'Hobart by night (lighting festival in public spaces)' in winter when 'it can be challenging to lure people in to the streets, but certainly not impossible' (Gehl, 2010: 45). This recommendation echoes the intentions of many interstate and international festivals which celebrate winter, such as Lights in Winter (Federation Square, Melbourne), Vivid (Sydney waterfront) and Helsinki's celebration of darkness through city design (see Landry, 2000: 88).

For Dark Mofo, the focus is not about overriding the darkness with light, but celebrating the region's environmental particularities using light as a contrast to the sweeping darkness. Edensor contends that,

> more sophisticated techniques and aesthetics are challenging long-held beliefs that the dark should be banished from the city, arguing that a pervasively distorted relationship between dark and light has meant that illumination has lost much of its potency to produce affective atmospheres, deliver aesthetically pleasing environments and create a sense of place (2015: 423).

Embracing darkness and winter resonates with the local connectedness of the Mona brand in responding to place, culture and environment. This is particularly evident in the

2016 Dark Mofo program, which played upon the concept of 'storm' as an underlying theme (Dark Mofo, 2016) and used Tasmanian landscape as the 'hero' image in promotional material.

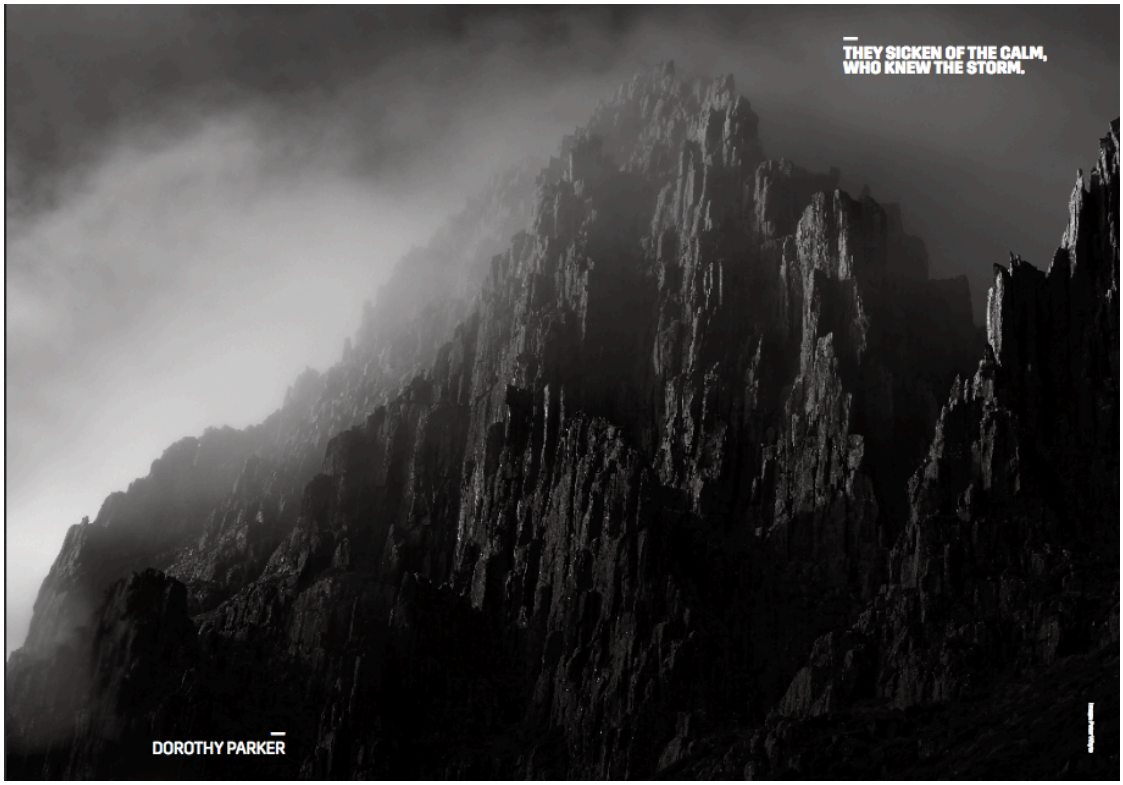

Image 17: 'Hero Image' in Dark Mofo 2016 Program. Photo: Peter Whyte. (Dark Mofo, 2016).

The mid-winter festival responds to place, nature, geography and landscape in taking 'dark themes as its inspiration' (Mona, 2013: 6). The interplay of dark and light is particularly significant to Dark Mofo where the introduction of large-scale light installations illuminate sections of the city but also allow for engagement with the darkness of winter, including business engagement through Paint the Town Red campaigns.

This Mona-initiated dissemination and distillation of the brand through Paint the Town Red differs significantly from the Guggenheim Bilbao's approach to reinterpretations of the Spanish museum's identity. Fraser reported that 'the museum is aggressive in policing its image and has threatened unauthorized reproductions with legal proceedings', including a local artist who produced pasta in the distinctive shape of Gehry's iconic museum structure (2005: 46). In 2015, Mona's promotion of the Paint the Town Red initiative saw over 500 #paintthetownred2015 images shared across social media in 2015, and Destination Southern Tasmania reported this reached over 300 000 people, over a million times (Destination

Southern Tasmania, 2015). While Destination Southern Tasmania did not collate an official record of participating organisations, Dark Mofo's presence was palpable across the city. In addition to businesses who registered their involvement, there were hundreds of more opportunistic small-scale references.

6.6 Huon Valley

In addition to small-scale interventions stimulated by Paint the Town Red and other festival activity, Dark Mofo has directly invigorated mid-winter activity outside of the Hobart CBD. This thesis has largely aimed to describe developments throughout the city of Hobart which can be aligned concurrently with Mona's arrival and growth, but deny reading as a simple cause and effect construct. Here I discuss the Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival as part of a direct causal relationship with Dark Mofo, which is hinged on local produce, tradition, and celebration of winter.

Following the success of 2013 Dark Mofo, Carmichael was approached by the Apple Shed and Willie Smith Cider to initiate a festival associated with Dark Mofo in the Huon Valley. Based on the success of the 2013 Dark Mofo festival, the Huon Valley organisers were 'clearly inspired' and,

> came and did a pitch in the second year. They thought there was an opportunity to get involved…They are focusing on a real tradition, wassailing, which ties back to life cycles and renewal and apples and cider production, so that attracted me because it seemed to be on brand. They asked for support, and we said yes (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

The Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival extends the reach of Mona to regional and rural Tasmania, and expands the festival program beyond the two-week timeframe. The event runs a month after the conclusion of Dark Mofo and connects to Mona's winter activation strategies, as well as highlighting the role of locally produced food and beverages as part of the Mona brand and cultural industries of the state.

Carmichael explained Dark Mofo's intention to support wider activity throughout the winter period, as 'if anyone else is in that space and we think we can help to achieve that big goal - which is activating winter and making winter a place where activities happen and

people are out and about, then we will' (Carmichael, interview, 2015). Dark Mofo financially supported the Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival in its opening year, and 'helped them get off the ground', but operationally it was produced externally without the Dark Mofo festival team. Carmichael also expressed interested with working collaboratively in this way with other Tasmanian festivals, including Junction Arts Festival (Launceston) and The Unconformity[65] (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

The inaugural Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival was supported by seven businesses and organisations[66], of which four were local to the Huon. In 2014, the event featured food stalls from 20 Tasmanian food and beverage producers (and 21 stalls in 2015). The festival continued the Dark Mofo theme of winter rituals with the age-old wassailing tradition of 'scaring nasties out of cider apple trees, from orchard to orchard, in order to bring on a stellar autumn yield' (Dark Mofo, 2014, n.p). The themes of darkness, spirituality and ritual burning are conceptually (and visually) linked with the ideas which inform the Dark Mofo festivals. The significance of fire for Dark Mofo provided strong connections with the Burning Man effigy in the fields at The Apple Shed, and a parade through the crowd of costumed wassailing participants created a festival atmosphere and participation from attendees. The mid-winter fest follows Mona's sensory and embodied approach to events, with the Huon Valley celebrations featuring music, fancy dress prizes, fire-twirling and story-telling[67] in addition to the focus on local cider and food stalls.

Willie Smith Cider and the Apple Shed have an established relationship with Mona, through the frequent inclusion of Willie Smith Cider in the summer MoMa market stallholders list and as part of the Dark Mofo Winter Feast. Willie Smith also interacts with a wider economy of cultural events in the city of Hobart as the cider is frequently provided at Arts Tasmania event openings and on tap at multiple bars and pubs. The Tasmanian Cider Tours (an off-shoot of the Whisky Tours) incorporate the Grove cidery in their journey. In 2013, the state government allocated a $150 000 grant for the redevelopment of the Huon Valley apple museum, which was envisaged to expand not only 'on Tasmania's reputation for premium food and beverages, but will attract more tourists to the stunning Huon Valley region and surrounds' (Giddens as cited in Australian Manufacturing, 2013). MoMa celebrated this funding on their social media platforms.

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[65] Formerly Queenstown Heritage and Art Festival, held in a small mining town on the west coast of Tasmania.
[66] Events Tasmania, Tourism Tasmania, Willie Smith Cider, The Apple Shed, something from the ground, Huon Valley Council, Jolley Hatters and Bill Bradshaw Photography
[67] Facilitated by the Tasmanian Writers Festival.

Image 18: Mona Markets congratulating Willie Smith on their grant from the state government. (MoMa, 2013).

The Apple Shed was designed by Hobart based firm Cumulus Architecture, with graphics and interpretation by Futago for the onsite bar and restaurant. Both firms are involved in many cultural projects throughout the state,[68] and in 2014, The Apple Shed was awarded best 'Small Project Architecture'.[69] These activities are not a direct Mona Effect, but are illustrative of the broader cultural economy and the interlinked visual, architectural and food/beverage networks that can be, both explicitly and by a broad interanimation, connected with Mona.

Carmichael cited the Huon Valley festival as part of a change of culture in the state, where,

[68] Including the highly awarded Pump House at Lake St Claire (Cumulus), Tasmanian Whisky Tours (Futago) and UTAS Creative Arts ACIPA development (Futago).
[69] In People's Choice 2014 Tasmanian Architect Awards (Architecture Au, 2014).

> due to the success of Dark Mofo other people see the opportunity to take a risk, and private money gets put on the table and gets used, which I think is great. They pitched the idea, and we supported it. That's kind of how it came about. And I think it is clearly referencing not only the wassailing tradition, but the Dark Mofo winter festival (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

The significance of risk-taking, and re-visioning what is possible in Tasmania is further explored in the Chapter Seven as a key 'intangible' effect of Mona's arrival in the state. The success of the Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival echoes that of Dark Mofo, as the southern festival expanded from a two to three days from 2014 to 2015. Mona's involvement in Tasmanian produce positions the organisation within a rich and vibrant network of independent local food and beverage production.

Conclusion

This chapter established the centrality of food and beverages to the Mona brand and identity through the embodied experience of consumption and emphasis on locality. I have described the success of Mona in intersecting with Tasmanian produce and food production networks, and the significance of being embedded in this industry to both the success of Mona and associated festivals and the stimulation of the cultural economy.

I have demonstrated the layered and multiple ways in which businesses and individuals are woven both through the city and in connection to Mona - through complex networks of personal friendships, professional alignment, singular events, and established business partnerships. In describing the mechanisms of Mona and Dark Mofo's impact, I have interviewed parties who have visible and multiple connections with the museum, and detailed the points of intersection between the museum and food and beverage sector, and the mutual developments these alignments have facilitated.

The following chapter expands upon how food and beverage activity has been employed as part of city activation strategies and altered the socio-spatial experience of the city. The two chapters connect through my assertion that culture in the city, and Mona's interaction with it, has been partly facilitated and enlivened by food culture. While this chapter has primarily focused upon private enterprises and economically driven initiatives, Chapter Seven examines the role of the state and city governments in stimulating and

enabling Mona and Dark Mofo's connections with Hobart, and critically examines some of the implications of the dynamics between the private gallery and government bodies.

Chapter Seven: Activity in the City

Following from the previous chapter, I further examine how Dark Mofo's impact has evolved, from Mona-directed capacity-building to self-initiated activity from local businesses, individuals and policy makers. This descriptive chapter draws upon my fieldwork, to present a layered account of Mona's impacts through examples of local business experience. Firstly, I demonstrate how the embeddedness and interconnectedness of Dark Mofo is extended beyond the two-week festival period by food and beverage businesses and related events throughout the year. I present an account of how gastronomic activity (including private business initiatives and tourism events) encourages external and ongoing relations and networks in the fabric of the city. Culture-led urban regeneration strategies have been criticised for privileging the consumption of culture and failing to recognise the importance of production (Oakley and O'Connor, 2015), and I argue that the food and beverage industry in Tasmania offers the potential to encourage locally produced items that exist beyond Mona, but are informally connected with Mona's audiences.

Secondly, in addition to the commercial food-based urban activity which has flourished around Dark Mofo, I argue that the museum and festivals have altered the means by which local residents, tourists, policy makers and businesses engage with the physical urban fabric and legislative frameworks of the city. I explore how events such as the Moo Brew Street Party and the rise of mobile food vans in the city both exploit and extend Mona and Dark Mofo's city activation strategies outside of Mona-initiated or -aligned processes. These developments are consistent with one of Dark Mofo's original objectives to 'brand Hobart as a vibrant and active city' (Mona, 2012: 3). I identify the direct way in which Dark Mofo interacts with (and alters) local policy, public engagement and city space through events such as Future Hobart, and how these shifts have extended to wider policy considerations and developments in Hobart.

This chapter analyses the intended place-making effects of Dark Mofo and how this aim of urban vibrancy has stimulated indirect and ongoing impacts. In recognising the Mona Effect within the rich pre-existing cultural environment of Hobart, it is possible to explore the co-constitutive relationship between museum and city, where multiple actors are acknowledged as active participants in supporting, enabling and facilitating the impact of Mona. This description of Dark Mofo's explicit engagement with city strategies provides a

backdrop for the following chapter, where I present grassroots responses to Mona's arrival in relation to arts, culture and city vitality.

7.1 Capitalising in the City

The Dark Mofo submission to government to secure ongoing funding for the 2016-2020 events explained, 'Dark Mofo has shape-shifted the ambient, emotional atmosphere of the city in multiple ways. People now seem to have understood that city space and culture is something that they are a part of and co-constitute' (Dark Mofo, 2015b: 15). In this section, I establish how this co-constitutive city engagement has occurred through individual business developments and how it is sustained throughout the year, beyond Dark Mofo.

The Whisky Tours (introduced in Chapter Six) business has extended the atmosphere and ambience of the festival period into the city. The business is spatially connected to Mona through the Brooke Street Pier (site of departure for the Mona Roma ferry to transport visitors to the museum) where Steel established a stall for the Whisky Tours. Brooke Street Pier is connected to the food and beverage sectors, as it is home to a restaurant, cafe and the sale of local produce and products, as well as a site for booking tours around the south of the state. Steel's interest in being located at the site was informed by his 'core audience being interstate' (Steel, interview, 2015). The owner strategically positioned his business interface where Mona visitors would be, explaining 'obviously that is where the Mona ferries go from' (Steel, interview, 2015). While the Whisky Tours connect with the Mona visitor flow, the business is not formally connected to the museum. Steel explained his desire to maintain 'peripheral involvement' with Mona (Steel, interview, 2015), in order to build an independent identity.

The Hobart waterfront departure point of the Mona Roma has also benefited Adam James, co-manger of Tricycle cafe (also of Rough Rice stall at the MoMa market and Dark Mofo Winter Feast) which is located within the Salamanca Arts Centre. A direct Mona Effect was cited by James, who reported a 25% increase in takings since the opening of Mona in 2011 (A. James, interview, 2015). This growth in patronage has resulted in the employment of extra staff, and Adam James noted that the cafe was particularly well placed in Salamanca to benefit from tourists breakfasting before boarding the Mona Roma. James explained a change in ambience and atmosphere around the festival periods:

> particularly with the festivals, we kind of equate that to what we term the 'hipster invasion'. You just know that whenever these festivals are on, we are going to be absolutely crazy busy. We notice a lot of the time that people do their research before they come down. They will pick out a couple of restaurants, couple of bars, couple of cafes to check out while they are down here. And fortunately we have been included in a couple of those lists or reviews, and we are kind of ready for it these days (A. James, interview, 2015).

Mona has brought with it a general increase in customers to the cafe and a concentrated boom of activity over the festival periods. The 2014 Dark Mofo provided the largest individual day of taking ever, closely followed by MONA FOMA 2014. James stated that festival Saturdays have seen '40 or 50' people patiently waiting in line, and require at least two extra staff on the floor (A. James, interview, 2015). This account, while largely aligning with an economic impact model as employed in Bilbao Effect studies, also intersects with Hobart's cultural economy through the Salamanca Arts Centre and Mona Markets.

7.1.1 City Ethos

Hobart restaurant Ethos has also capitalised upon Mona's arrival, and is increasingly connected to Mona through shared tourist demographics, temporary event-based connections with the museum, and staffing social networks. When Ethos was established, co-owner Chloe Proud recognised a shift in atmosphere and city experience: 'Mona was in its infancy and just being built, so there was a fairly palpable sense of stuff is going to happen and a palpable sense that lots of young people were starting to be employed into great management roles… kind of seeing it as a real cultural shift' (Proud, interview, 2015).

Since opening in 2011, the restaurant has grown to forty staff and three additional businesses along Elizabeth Street,[70] and the suppliers list has increased from five key local produce suppliers to 'up to 50' in the four-year period (Proud, interview, 2015). Ethos also serves their meals on ceramics by local maker Lindsey Wherret (occasional MoMa market stallholder), who provides crockery to several restaurants in the city.

Ethos initially connected with the Mona 'buzz' and flows of tourists through strategic connections with the Dark Mofo festival. In 2013, on the afternoon of the inaugural Dark

[70] The three businesses are Vita Yoghurt, The Provadore, and The Tasmanian Juice Press.

Mofo, Ethos posted an announcement to their Facebook page stating that the restaurant had altered their opening hours to operate ‘in conjunction with the happenings of Dark Mofo’ (see Image 19). In turn, Dark Mofo promoted Ethos via their social media channels, explaining that the restaurant was ‘changing their opening hours to make it easier to feed yourself before #DARKMOFO shows’ (Image 20).

Image 19: Ethos Eat Drink Facebook post. (Ethos Eat Drink, 2013).

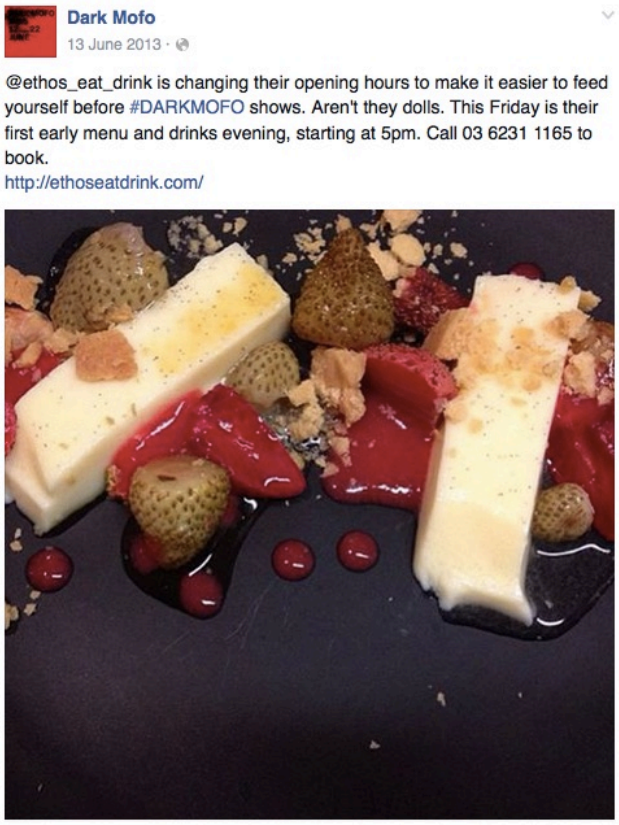

Image 20: Dark Mofo Facebook post. (Dark Mofo, 2013b).

These altered opening hours (and diversified menu to accommodate for 'snack times') realises in practice the ideas promoted by the Gehl report (Gehl, 2010) for greater night-time activities and options in the city. Additionally, at the first Mona Effect seminar, Jacqui Allen (Deputy Secretary, Cultural and Tourism Development with the Department of State Growth) advised that Development Tasmania had encouraged small businesses to adopt alternative opening hours during cultural events, including Dark Mofo (seminar notes, Mona Effect, 2013). The Darkest Night Business Plan also makes clear the desire of the festival to support local businesses:

> With the support of the Hobart City Council, Mona will meet with businesses in the proposed Winter Festival 'precinct' to discuss extended trading hours (evenings and Sundays) during the winter festival. It is expected that the festival's relationship with local businesses will build over the next three years as consumers and tourists become familiar with the event's format (Mona, 2012: 23).

Ethos recognised a lack of venues open at appropriate times to synchronise with the opening hours of Dark Mofo events. Proud explained that tourists 'have come down here to have a great time, and there are only so many times I would come here if everything is closed in the city on a Sunday…' (Proud, interview, 2015). She was concerned about Tasmania being well-represented during the mid-winter festival, and saw the necessity of businesses being flexible and accommodating festival activities to ensure visitors to the state weren't experiencing 'frozen scallops' (Proud, interview, 2015) in a state with an international reputation for sea food (Tasmanian Seafood Industry Council, 2015). Equally, the altered opening hours directly benefited the business, which was given an increased social media reach via the Dark Mofo endorsement.

These informal connections have the capacity to develop a strong cultural economy for a variety of local businesses, who can both benefit from (through increased patronage) and support (providing food, accommodation and entertainment outside of programmed festival activities) Mona and associated Mona events in the city. Proud explained **'**I think people are starting to come down with the mindset that it is the whole package of stuff, it is not just the festival itself, but it is all of the city' (Proud, interview, 2015). In encouraging a night-time economy, Dark Mofo's impact extends beyond festival programming to incorporate city-wide activity.

The significance of collaboration and informal connections with Mona was highlighted by Proud, who compared the winter season prior to Dark Mofo - 'really tough on people's takings for the year' - to now - 'one of the biggest spikes' (Proud, interview, 2015). This shift in patronage also signaled a shift in mind set and community, as Proud described how the large numbers of people on waiting lists for tables (up to 150 at Ethos on one occasion) meant the restaurant had developed a list of twenty alternative city venues to suggest to patrons. Whereas in the past there was competition between businesses, Proud suggested there is an 'acknowledgement that we are all kind of part of a bigger thing now' (Proud, interview, 2015). For Ethos, where approximately 70% of customers are from interstate, having alternative venues to suggest ensures the state is well represented, encourages repeat visitation, and maintains a year round robust cultural economy (Proud, interview, 2015).

In 2005, the Ethos owners began making cold pressed juices from Tasmanian produce. During a chance encounter with the head brewer at Moo Brew (who Proud had previously worked with in hospitality jobs in Hobart), Proud was offered the opportunity to be aligned with Moo Brew in their attempt to 're-localise' the brewery's identity (Proud, interview, 2015). Previously, Moo Brew was sold at Mona events alongside international soft drinks. This was recognised as inconsistent with the Moo Brew values, as well as a missed opportunity to promote a premium Tasmanian product. In 2015, the Tasmanian Juice Press became the soft drink supplier for external Mona events. The development of the juice business was not initiated by Mona, but subsequently came to be aligned with the brand through pre-existing professional networks and a similar artisanal approach to producing the boutique product.

The personal connections that facilitated the juice press's expansion reflect observations that personal narratives 'illuminate the critical role that key individuals play in developing and delivering creative policy' (Harvey et al, 2012: 532). While Proud's commercial activity does not align with local cultural policy, it highlights the significance of local actors drawing on their 'embeddedness' (Harvey et al, 2012: 532) to catalyse business opportunities, creative opportunities and professional networks. Proud's social and professional networks also led to a food curation and design role at a specialised Dark Mofo event held in the north of the state in 2015.

As the juice business expanded, increased production necessitated a larger space and increased infrastructure. Following another informal discussion within Proud's social and professional networks, the enterprise moved into the Old Mercury building, run by Detached.

Magdalena Lane, site and program developer for Detached, explained the inclusion of food and beverage offerings in the site was aimed at delivering 'permeable' space which invited the public in (Lane, interview, 2015).

This concept of permeability was employed during 2015 Dark Mofo, as the festival used the Old Mercury site to house an exhibition by Australian artist Patricia Piccinini and an external courtyard for Lozano-Hemmer's *Pulse Tower* interactive artwork. Public enthusiasm to see the artworks generated large queues, and the footpath outside the venue became a hub of festival activity. To accommodate this public gathering, the area became the Detached Street Party, incorporating food vans on the street and connections with the restaurant within the building. Leigh Carmichael described the dual function of the Detached Street Party as both 'activating the city' and facilitating a space for crowd management of the 40 000 attendees to the site over the ten days of the festival (Carmichael, interview, 2015).

Carmichael explained that the Detached cultural precinct would develop over time to include 'design, architecture, festivals, advertising, visual and performing arts and new media' in order to encourage cultural activity in the city, beyond Mona and Dark Mofo (quoted in Abey, 2013: n.p.). I contend that independent developments which have tangential but meaningful connections with Mona and Dark Mofo assist in encouraging fine-grained urban activity. The examples in this chapter highlight tourism flows and economic growth in the city, but also demonstrate patterns of independent small-scale activity which is not reliant upon Mona or part of top-down policy interventions or international franchises.

7.1.2 City Branding

In addition to the external (but interconnected) food and beverage activity in the city described above, Mona's engagement in Hobart has also been extended through specific place making and branding projects. In 2014, Tasmania was selected as host for Tourism Australia's 'Invite the World to Dinner' event, a $1.5 million feast for 250 guests, as part of a broader Restaurant Australia campaign. The event was hosted by Mona and incorporated three locations in a moving feast, beginning with mussels and champagne at the waterfront, followed by an outdoor barbeque at the Glenorchy Art and Sculpture Park (GASP), and a concluding seated dinner in the Nolan museum space at Mona. Tourism Australia explained the rationale for awarding Tasmania with the gala event:

> Mona boasts a world-renowned museum and architectural masterpiece, an acclaimed restaurant that serves innovative food, with amazing views, a luxury private hotel complex where each pavilion is an art gallery, an outdoor live music venue with a capacity to hold thousands, an onsite heritage vineyard (and brewery) that has been producing fine wines since 1947. The 'Invite the World to Dinner' gala will be the type of event that will leave international visitors wide-eyed and show the world that there's nothing like Australia's great food and wine experiences (Tourism Australia, 2014: n.p.).

This recognition of Mona's centrality to both the cultural and gastronomic spheres reflects the significance of both enterprises to Mona's output, and the museum's connections to the broader tourism industries in the state.

The epicurean event was described as an 'unforgettable feast of art, performance, music and of course world class culinary experience with a stunning architectural backdrop' (Tourism Australia2014: n.p), and engaged multiple senses, in keeping with Mona's philosophy and the Tourism Australia objectives. Guests were transported from the Hobart waterfront to Mona by local business Pennicott Wilderness Tours, in a joy ride where they were exposed to the elements and wrapped in Tasmanian Wool Company blankets (fieldwork, 2015). Tour owner Rob Pennicott is a Tasmanian business owner/operator who is emphatic about the positive impact Mona has had on tourism to the state (seminar notes, Mona Effect, 2015). The Pennicott Wilderness Tours are listed on the Mona webpage of promoted Tasmanian attractions.

The Restaurant Australia event connected also with businesses not affiliated with Mona, as Tourism Australia issued a public relations guide for tourism operators for the duration of the event. Tourism Australia suggested that 'global attention' was already focused on the southern state after Lonely Planet announced Tasmania as the number four region to visit in 2014, and explained that 'with this unprecedented focus on Tasmania, now is the time to promote Tasmania and your product. Your aim is to let people you know exist, what your product is and to encourage them to experience it when they are visiting Tasmania' (Tourism Australia, 2014: n.p.).

The guide recommended local businesses embrace social media to promote their brand through association with the #discovertasmania #restaurantaustralia tags across social

media platforms, with messaging focused around seven key themes.[71] As part of the tourism branding, businesses embraced a 'Welcome to Tasmania' logo which was used on marketing material and pasted on the pavement around the city, with the tag line 'Where Produce Is Never Far From The Plate' (Tourism Tasmania, 2014b). Social media coverage and the use of 'international influencers' on Instagram and other online platforms resulted in the event reaching 106 million people and 7.2 million impressions through Tourism Tasmania's online profile (Tourism Tasmania, 2015b: 13).[72]

Alongside this messaging, tourism operators were encouraged to promote a special offer which aligned with the Restaurant Australia campaign, in a similar manner to the Paint the Town Red co-branding. These offers were not formally associated with the event, but provided local businesses with an opportunity to 'take advantage' of the 250 patrons dining at the gala dinner (Tourism Australia, 2014, n.p.). In an interview with a local artist who also worked in a whisky bar in the city, Grace Herbert explained that the business was 'exceptionally busy' across the Restaurant Australia weekend (Herbert, interview, 2014). Although the bar was not an official part of the itinerary, it was suggested to visitors by the tourism organisers, so there were 'quite a few celebrities and people filing in and out of there' (Herbert, interview, 2014). This connection between the local (produce, staff, plates, Moorilla wines, Tasmanian whisky) and the global (international art critics, chefs and officials) connects with Heidenreich and Plaza's assessment of museums and cultural regeneration as part of an 'insertion in global specialization circuits and city networks' (Heidenreich and Plaza, 2015: 1450).

The Tourism Australian event is representative of the significant relationship between Mona, Hobart and food, and the pervasiveness of this narrative in the popular imagination. The gala dinner incorporated food, wine, performances, art and music and roaming sites and this Mona cocktail of activities was selected to represent the best of Australian dining experiences. While a highly exclusive and tourist-focused event, the progressive dinner connected with multiple sectors of the tourism industry and the Hobart cultural economy. Students completing their certificate in hospitality were employed as wait staff for the events, artists were commissioned, and local hospitality businesses embraced the opportunity for

[71] The seven themes were: how the Tasmanian environment directly informs and produced the quality of food and drink; Tasmania as an artistan state; emphasise the states's reputation as a natural larder; quality of local seafood; state wide gastronomic experience; accessibility; seasonality and beautiful dining locations.

[72] Although it cannot be directly traced to a Mona Effect, the social media following for Tourism Tasmania (across Facebook, Twitter and Instagram) grew from 68 669 to 305 694 followers (an increase of 345 per cent) in 2014-15.

patronage through temporary co-branding with the event. Below (in Section 7.3) I show how similar events in Hobart have necessitated a new understanding of the city by legislators, which has in turn presented opportunities for new responses and actions, beyond the Dark Mofo or Mona experience.

7.2 Activating Change

In addition to the city-based activity stimulated by private business, Mona and Dark Mofo have been involved in city-based projects delivered in conjunction with the public sector. As outlined in Chapter Four, Mona's presence has significantly augmented public policy and has broad implications for the city in relation to legislation, planning, and the experience of both visiting and living in Hobart. As established, the relationship between Mona and Hobart was formally codified in the development of MONA FOMA festivals, which translate the Mona brand and ethos into the City of Hobart.

The strong relationship between the CoH and Dark Mofo was cited in the festivals' submission to government in 2015 to secure future funding, and particularly focused on engagement with city spaces:

> Dark Mofo in partnership with the Hobart City Council and in line with the Council's Creative Hobart strategy has activated many never-before-used spaces for performances and exhibitions, including: Macquarie Point and four of its unused sheds, the Old Mercury Building, three spaces within the Centre for the Arts, the Hobart Town Hall underground, Prince of Wales Battery (Princes Park) and Riverfront Motel (Glenorchy). (Dark Mofo, 2015).

In addition to the contractual relationship between Mona and the CoH regarding festival funding, operational support and access to space, there are evident correlations between Mona place-making initiatives and council policy. Since 2011, the council has transitioned from a financially supportive role to co-collaborators with Mona in bringing activity into the city, particularly through food- and beverage-related activity in the winter months.

The first formal record of collaboration between Mona and the City of Hobart is cited in the council minutes from September 2011, where Mona made a submission to council

requesting in-kind support for the supply of tiered seating for an event with Contemporary Arts Tasmania.[73] The application outlined how Mona directly benefited the City of Hobart:

> MONA has contributed a great deal to Hobart with over 230 000 visitors since opening earlier this year. There has been a significant number of national and international visitors making up at least half the numbers, with many travelling specifically to Tasmania to visit MONA. *This alone shows the magnitude of exposure and support MONA offers, showcasing Hobart's cultural vibrancy* (CoH, 2011, n.p. emphasis added).

The submission was accepted by council, and since this initial formal support the collaborations have transitioned towards co-produced events, particularly following the 2012 announcement of the City of Hobart's partnership with Mona for the inaugural Dark Mofo in 2013. Mona's assertion that the museum and associated activities 'contributed a great deal to the Hobart…showcasing Hobart's cultural vibrancy' (as cited in City of Hobart, 2011, n.p.) was recognised in a council press release explaining the significant investment in the 'Night Market' (later renamed as the Winter Feast). The announcement highlighted the council's support of 'activities, events and attractions that seek to activate Hobart, particularly during the winter period' (City of Hobart, 2012).

The council continued to formally acknowledge the value of Dark Mofo for the city via the Lord Mayor's endorsement in the festival program, which credited Dark Mofo with delivering 'real economic outcomes' (in Dark Mofo, 2013a: n.p.), 'substantial economic benefit…as well as the important cultural and social outcomes it provides' (Dark Mofo, 2014: n.p.), and a 'significant activation of the city during winter' (Dark Mofo, 2015a: n.p.). This established precedent of collaboration and aligned aspirations for the city provides a backdrop upon which other initiatives, outside of the festival, were developed to capitalise upon Dark Mofo's energy and the CoH's own city activation strategies.

7.2.1 Applying to Party

[73] The council was already a funding partner for the Contemporary Arts Tasmania project, titled *Iteration: Again*, by providing a $5000 grant for the project. Mona requested a waived fee for the use of tiered seating for a motorcross event, to the cost of $72 000.

In May 2015 (prior to the third Dark Mofo festival in June), Moo Brew and the City of Hobart presented the 'Party in the Lane' in Collins Court in the CBD. This event included music, live graffiti art, Moo Brew beer, and Mona food stalls. Initially titled the 'Moo Brew "Pimp your Laneway"' event as part of a pilot series, the application leveraged on Mona's precedent of utilising city laneway spaces for festival activity and for generating 'buzz' (Currid and Williams, 2009) in otherwise disused city spaces. The Moo Brew proposal to the City of Hobart clearly connects the success of the Mona festivals with the opportunity for council to generate activity and public engagement in the laneway sites (Moo Brew, 2015: 10). The document highlights the benefits to the city of being socially, culturally and economically aligned with Mona, and specifically cites the Gehl report (2010) throughout the application as a means of demonstrating the affiliation between Moo Brew intentions and council objectives.

The application (and subsequent realised event) focused upon a food and beverage event as a means to catalyse city activation. Food festivals are significant generators of activity in Hobart, such as the City of Hobart's Taste of Tasmania (running since 1988) and the Dark Mofo Winter Feast. The extract below taken from the Moo Brew application, captures the leveraging power of local food and beverages and demonstrates how Mona connects with the cultural economy of the city through these many linkages and connections.

> Tasmanian artisan food and beverage producers have become the heroes of both our economy and our brand - building on the state's reputation for fine food and wine, and taking it further through innovation, creativity and alignment with national and international hospitality influencers (brands, venues and individuals). From saffron to soft cheeses, the brand that is Tasmania has become synonymous with quality in the sector. The impact of one of the world's most culturally cutting edge centres - Mona - and its events, Mofo, Dark Mofo, have combined with flagship Hobart City Council events such as The Taste of Tasmania, The Wooden Boat Festival and The Festival of Voices to further sharpen the cut-through of the city's brand (Moo Brew, 2015: 4).

The document is explicit about applying this gastronomic wealth to the city as part of a place-making practice. In being aligned with Moo Brew through the event, the City of Hobart is 'sharpening' the city brand and is provided with an opportunity to be 'involved in the activating public spaces in a fun, creative and innovative way' (Moo Brew 2015: 5). The

document cites the two key themes as celebrating 'public space in the city centre, and place celebration with associative brand messaging' and 'local artisan producers (potentially strongly represented through Mona chefs) and artists (performance and visual)' (Moo Brew, 2015: 10).

The Moo Brew application clearly detailed the aims of the festival and how they aligned with the council's own vision for underused city spaces. The six key proposed impacts of the street party connected with city branding, city planning, festival energy, local culture, continued activity throughout the year beyond the festival calendar, and connections with the Gehl report (2010):

- 'Highlight areas earmarked for development, bringing them to the public's top-of-mind
- In doing so, give a 'taster' of the style of experience that locals and visitors may experience through these Master Plan documents
- Leverage from the experiences locals are currently enjoying in the festival and cultural space
- Combine these elements of artisan food & beverages, art, culture, heritage and future visions to consolidate and deliver strong public messaging about the city and Tasmanian artisan producers' (Moo Brew, 2015: 10)

The 'benefits' of these events were promoted as:

- 'Creating a series of satellite events to run in quieter times provides event continuity rather than a situation where major events are interspersed with periods of "dead time"
- Clear links can be established with the series, Gehl report recommendations for the city and the proposed Inner City Action Plan' (Moo Brew, 2015: 10).

These strategic aims are explicit about the intended role of Mona in activating the city and the significance of festivals (particularly Dark Mofo) as a stimulation for this activity. These approaches outlined in the submission resonate with recommendations in section AP09.23 of the ICAP, where Gehl identifies Collins Court as a 'fine grain laneway' with the potential for '…creating opportunities for innovation, surprise and unique

approaches to both permanent and transient design' (Wilkie, 2010: 44). The emphasis on drawing public attention to precincts 'earmarked for development' and 'bringing them to the public's top-of-mind' (Moo Brew, 2015: 10) particularly resonates with the brownfield Macquarie Point site discussed in Chapter Nine.

7.2.2 Party in the Lane

At 5pm on the day of the event, there was a steady stream of city office workers and young families filling the Collins Court space, purchasing a beverage from the Moo Brew stalls or dinner from the Mona Kitchen and dancing to the DJ. By 7pm, a line developed along Collins St as patrons queued to be let into the space. Surrounding businesses in the Collins Arcade remained open beyond their usual trading hours. The Mona branding was minimal, but the event was loud, energetic, crowded, and had a large police presence at the perimeters. A nod to the museum was evident in the Occupational Health and Safety masking tape in distinctive Mona neon pink which drew attention to steps and ledges (fieldwork, 2015).

Image 21: The laneway party, capturing the crowds lining up at the Moo Brew beer station. (Moo Brew, 2015).

In an interview after the event, Jane Castle, Cultural Programs Coordinator at the City of Hobart, explained the alignment between the Moo Brew aims and council objectives for Collins Court, an area which had been identified as a priority area for the council. The street party was deemed successful particularly due to its small scale and high impact, where it

became about ‘the place and some people and an event’ (Castle, interview, 2015). The primary goal of bringing people into disused city spaces was achieved: ‘obviously it worked incredibly well because it activated one of our key unloved spaces and showed people how it could be used in a different way’ (Castle, interview, 2015).

The event also connected with the council’s public art initiatives and Gehl’s promotion of laneways as space which ‘… have the opportunity to have different identities, where the artistic can come together. The city centre lanes have fantastic potential for strengthening the public realm and increasing pedestrian opportunities’ (Wilkie, 2010: 42). Melbourne’s revitalisation of their previously ‘abject’ laneway spaces (McGaw, 2008) provides as successful example of this approach, and the City of Sydney has introduced comparable initiatives through a Laneways Program as part of a cultural policy (City of Sydney, 2014).

As part of the Moo Brew laneway party, two local artists produced an artwork on a portable screen during the course of the evening. Jamin (co-painter of the Mona Roma) and Aedan Howlett (previous brewer for Moo Brew and co-owner of the Alabama Hotel) created a large-scale evolving artwork during the DJ set. Jane Castle explained that the intention was initially for the artists to produce an artwork directly onto the wall of Collins Court, but this was prohibited by the building owner at the final stages of planning: ‘The good thing about that was that it made us realise going forward with the redevelopment of the space that the wall would be a no-go-area, so we have to think more cleverly about where we put art’ (Castle, interview, 2015). The logistics and operational realities of place-making were therefore tested through the process of the laneway party before the site development was fully realised. Castle explained that Moo Brew ‘obviously got lots out of it’ but primarily the event was ‘great for us [CoH] because it meant that our politicians or community could become involved in it, and then in terms of championing a budget being approved for the redevelopment of the space…so strategically it’s a fantastic project for us (Castle, interview, 2015).

The transformation and alteration of perceptions of a city space is a key feature of the Mona festivals, as recognised in their submission to council (Moo Brew, 2015: 9) and in academic responses to Mona’s activity (O’Connor, 2014). The street party was viewed by Castle as a leveraging opportunity to demonstrate to aldermen and other council departments the value of investing in the redevelopment of public space, as promoted in the ICAP recommendations. Gehl states ‘The analysis of the public space in Hobart can be summarised as - the physical structure is there, but opportunities for a range of activities need

strengthening' (Gehl, 2010: 102). Party in the Lane demonstrated the potential for activity to generate a 'vibrant city with versatile public space' (Gehl, 2010: 102) through small adaptations to pre-existing spaces rather than the development of new megaprojects. The laneway party reimagined the city space without demanding large-scale permanent structural interventions.

This re-visioning of public space is also evident in the Dark Mofo festivals, particularly in forging new linkages: between Sullivan's Cove and the museum (Mona Roma), and between the Macquarie Point sheds at the waterfront and the Odeon in the city (festival routes). In their research combining walking and anthropology, Lee and Ingold found that 'by the interweaving of routes over time or concurrently, a place is made' (2006: 78). The routes enacted during the festivals (and subsequently throughout the year) are primarily created and enacted by pedestrians in a bricolage of paths repeated across multiple nights. Although the Gehl report critiques some of Hobart's urban design,[74] the document is centrally focused on changes to livability through small policy, protocol and practice interventions rather than structural developments. Solnit and Schwartzenberg describe this approach as changes to 'spatial practices rather than the alteration of actual space' (2002: 166). In the context of Hobart, this resonates with how the energy and dynamism of Dark Mofo festival periods is captured and developed upon, without implementing new infrastructural projects developments. The spatial embeddedness of the Party in the Lane directly connects with the excitement of the winter festival and a desire to foster the temporary city vitality of Dark Mofo as an ongoing experience of place throughout the year.

The City of Hobart used the Party in the Lane to bring public attention and engagement to the site in the advance of the Collins Court laneway activation project. Miriam Shevland, a Hobart landscape designer working on the project explained,

> we have all seen what happens when Dark Mofo sort of sparks up and everyone is out and about in the streets with their families, so the idea was that this space would kind of continue that all year round, so people would use this space day and night, and it would have that really nice warm appeal (Shevland, as quoted in Raabus, 2015: n.p).

[74] E.g. The Davey Street sight line impediments which create a visual and cognitive barrier between the city and the waterfront (Gehl, 2010).

Shevland's linking of Dark Mofo and year round site activity connects with a theoretical understanding of urban spaces as a 'process rather than series of fixed entities, where we can discover practices that oppose a dominant will to fix spatial meanings and uses' (Stavrides, 2007: 174). The Party in the Lane demonstrates how the networks of Hobart's cultural economy, including multiple points of intersection and collaboration between Mona and the CoH, have created an environment in which Dark Mofo is able to support the daily making and re-making of local identity and sense of place, beyond the winter festival fortnight.

While the Party in the Lane event was in part motivated by commercial intentions - focused upon the consumption of food and beverages and stimulating the night-time economy - the development of the public laneway space encourages access to the city which does not require financial buy-in from the public. Peck has argued that,

> Both the script and the nascent practices of urban creativity are peculiarly well suited to enterpreneurialised and neoliberalised urban landscapes. They provide a means to intensify and publically subsidise urban consumption systems for a circulating class of gentrifiers, whose *lack* of commitment to place and whose weak community ties are perversely celebrated (Peck, 2005: 764).

I argue that the street party generated public engagement and interest in the site, which the City of Hobart hoped to convert into all year round public use of the laneway. While the success of the Collins Court upgrade has not as yet been assessed by the CoH (fieldwork observation suggests it is largely used as a site for office workers to take a smoke break, or shoppers to rest), the development is illustrative of a shift in both governance and public relationships to sites in the city, and a commitment to these city places.

7.3 Culture of Change/Change of Culture

Beyond council-initiated city events, Mona has both directly and indirectly stimulated city-based activity from independent operators and grassroots collectives. O'Connor (2014) proposes that Mona's arrival has encouraged the development of a new flexibility from the Tasmanian public service in valuing culture and assisting to facilitate new initiatives:

> A more relaxed attitude to planning and food safety regulations, the sensitive use of a war memorial site for an art work, and, of course, the naked winter solstice swim - these are clear indicators of a new attitude. A deeper, more creative engagement is taking place as Hobart works with Mona to allow artists to 'rethink' particular city spaces and develop interventions (O'Connor, 2014: n.p.).

This new attitude was evident during the 2015 festival, when the Dark Mofo program included plans to re-imagine a temporary tower of lights into a permanent 117-metre piece of infrastructure. The mooted $8 million 'Art Tower' project in the CBD was co-presented by Mona and Detached. Magdalena Lane, of Detached, stated that 'the community seemed generally supportive of the concept…maybe that's because we launched it during Dark Mofo…maybe at that time of the year the community is more open to such ambitious sort of projects' (Lane, interview, 2015). Both Lane (interview, 2015) and Carmichael (interview, 2015) suggested that the public enthusiasm for the festival enabled a rethinking of what a tower might look like and what was appropriate for the city, outside of a traditional development application process.

Jane Castle (CoH) explained that following the success of the 2013 Dark Mofo festival, she arranged for the Mona curators and senior staff (several of whom were not local to Hobart) to be driven around Hobart in a minibus to view potential sites for festival activity (seminar notes, Mona Effect, 2013). Castle saw a role for the council in marrying the spaces of Hobart with Mona's potential to bring international and highly resolved large-scale artworks into the city. This art tour of the city resulted in the Hobart Cenotaph being selected for the opening of the inaugural Dark Mofo festival in 2013.

The ability for festivals to open up space and create new social imaginaries- without altering physical space is articulated by Trevor Davies, director of the Metropolis festival in Copenhagen. He describes how

> these reoccurring projects function as soft protests that trigger another kind of looking at landscapes and cityscapes. In a way you might say this soft curating of the city works against decision-makers who look at the city in other ways. It is creating a counterbalance in the way the city is perceived, talked about and understood and in doing so it is meta-curating the city (Davies as quoted in Joye, 2014: 26).

Below I outline how the council worked alongside independent businesses to encourage a 'soft curating' of the city. I argue that Dark Mofo has assisted the 'decision-makers' of the city to look creatively at the policies which govern Hobart in order to support new ways of engaging with urban spaces.

Through Dark Mofo and related activities, an alliance of city council, cultural organisations, businesses and individuals has assisted to reconsider policy and planning conventions by re-orientating engagement with public space, and challenging how sites in the city can be interacted with. However, policy and planning structures still provide barriers to the realisation of 'more creative engagement' in Hobart (O'Connor, 2014), despite enthusiasm to encourage new interventions in the city, as discussed in Chapter Eight.

7.4 Mobile Food Vans

The introduction of mobile food vans to the city, both during Dark Mofo and throughout the year, has encouraged temporary activation in the city at night and necessitated the council reconsider policy and planning restrictions. Due to planning limitations (before the CoH undertook a process review to assist vendors to conduct business in the city), food vans were initially predominately operating out of privately-owned car parks, at Mona events, markets and other commercial sites. Vendors wished to conduct business in public spaces in the city, particularly in areas of high pedestrian access. International literature observes that food trucks have been highly successful in Portland, Los Angeles, and Austin, Texas in activating city spaces and increasingly pedestrianisation of the city (Wessel, 2012; Southworth, 2014; Newman and Burnett, 2013; Zukin, 2010). Whyte asserts that, 'if you want to seed a place with activity, put out food' (1943: 50), and Southworth contends that 'progressive policies on food vending have helped transform dead urban spaces into gastronomic magnets that attract crowds throughout the day' (2014: 38).

Mark Joseph, Community Development Coordinator at the City of Hobart, initiated the City of Hobart's food van project. He explained how food vans linked with his role of delivering youth programs, cultural diversity, and city activations, as well as with the ICAP (Wilkie, 2010), through 'links to community participation, social inclusion, community safety and cultural activation' (Joseph, interview, 2014). Joseph explained that over the last few years, and particularly within the last 12 months, 'we have had people come to us and say "we want to have a van and trade on the street." And the basic response has been "you can't…"' (Joseph, interview, 2014). Joseph explained,

> The response has always been 'you can't do it'- and basically it revolves around our planning scheme and bylaws…the planning scheme says as soon as you pull up and open shutters on your van, that piece of land has officially changed use. It is now no longer a road, it is now a shop, and to do that, you have to put in a development application (Joseph, interview, 2014).

Development applications form prohibitive barriers to small-scale operators, who are not attempting to permanently reconfigure the site's usage, but according to the planning scheme, are required to submit applications to this end.

Due to the interdepartmental policy and planning which affects food vans, Joseph initially called together council's environmental health, roads and planning, customer service, community development and parks - 'really every division'- to develop some basic guidelines for potential vendor sites (Joseph, interview, 2014). In addition to these meetings, a round table discussion was held with 27 individuals, including vendors, waterfront businesses, police, aldermen and two representatives from the Glenorchy Art and Sculpture Park, who have a similar food truck venture[75]. This numbers of participants demonstrates both the interest in- and complexity of –enabling these 'pop up' ventures in Hobart. The convoluted processes which small independent entrepreneurs, artists, designers, chefs, and other innovators are required to perform is identified by Westbury as significant constraint for innovative city activity. In the case of Renew Newcastle, Westbury observed that 'the tangled minefield that stretches from public liability insurance to risk assessments, to liquor licensing, legal costs, copyright compliance, noise regulations, place of public entertainment licensing, is a formidable barrier to creative initiative' (Westbury, 2008: n.p).

This sentiment is echoed in the findings of Newman and Burnett (2013), whose study of mobile food vendors advises,

> to replicate the success that Portland has had, cities and other levels of government will have to take care not to over-regulate the industry. The flexibility with which street food is approached in Portland is precisely why vendors, as well as the communities in which they are based, have been able to use it to create places and increase their control of spaces (Newman and Burnett, 2013: 246).

[75] Pippa Dickson, CEO of GASP and Mark Wilsdon, committee member of GASP and Executive Business Manager at Mona.

Hobart's food van enterprise is connected to both the Creative Hobart (CoH, 2013a) and ICAP plans (Wilkie, 2010), but enacting 'small, local, flexible' pursuits remains constrained by policy and regulatory limitations (Joseph, interview, 2014).

John Hepper of local landscape architecture firm Inspiring Place, explained the static nature of local council policies, which were not equipped to deal with the 'pop up' nature of new developments, particularly those which came from younger designers, cafe owners, and architects. He identified that '…sometimes the system doesn't allow for this way of 'pop up' activation of the space for a short period of time. All these hurdles you have to go through make it all the more difficult. Hopefully… the council has been moving along that way, which is good (Hepper, interview, 2014). However, in his critique Hepper was acutely aware of the 'limited resources' the City of Hobart had access to for the implementation of the recommendations of the ICAP (Wilkie, 2010).

The rise of food vans subsequent to Mona's arrival follows Southworth's observation that 'creative rethinking of the regulatory framework for urban activity can be as important in promoting public life as spatial design' (2014: 40). As a result of Joseph's negotiations, council legislation interventions have facilitated the move of these vans into areas identified as having the capacity to attract flows of visitors. Joseph reported that the council's aldermen were largely supportive of the initiative, and were aware of the growing significance of tourism for the city. He explained,

> generally they are supportive of it, and they can see the benefits. Especially now that tourism has really ramped up, and people are coming to Hobart to go to Mona, we need to make the most of it. You see people walking around, and there's nothing to do! Welcome to Hobart? (Joseph, interview, 2014).

Although acknowledging the arrival of Mona, Joseph also articulated an awareness of the wider trends in Hobart's urban revitalisation, which were not explicitly a result of Mona's arrival but part of a broader shift in innovative responses to the city. He was reticent to draw a direct correlation between the museum's arrival and the enthusiasm for mobile food vans, stating '…I don't know if that is a Mona Effect, I think this was happening anyway…' (Joseph, interview, 2014). The development of Mona, and food vans in the city, can be understood as contemporary unfolding activities, rather than having a causational relationship. As discussed in Chapter Six, the increase of small-scale food and beverage

production pre-dated Mona's arrival, but was well-placed to intersect with visitors to the museum and growing activity in the city.

As previously introduced, the Glenorchy Art and Sculpture Park (GASP) has also developed a food van venture, titled the GASPMobile. The van debuted at the Dark Mofo Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival, illustrating the formal relationship between Mona and GASP[76]. In early 2014, GASP extended an expression of interest to experienced food and drink providers to run the food van, as overseen by Jo Cook (food curator for the Dark Mofo Winter Feast and MoMa). The position was awarded to Honey Child & Sweet MacQueen who had previously provided food at MoMa. Following the soft launch at GASP in 2014, the food van featured at the 2014 Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival as part of the Dark Mofo program. In 2015, the GASPMobile was re-launched with a new operator, 'Lean To Kitchen'. It participated in an Australia Day BBQ competition at Mona in 2016, and has been at the Macquarie Point Friday night 'Red Square' with other food vans (Macquarie Point, 2016). The significance of Macquarie Point for both Mona and urban regeneration is explored in Chapter Nine, but the inclusion of the GASPMobile at this site demonstrates the desire of the Macquarie Point Development Corporation to attract the public onto site.

7.5 Changing Spaces

Dark Mofo festival programming, across all iterations of the event, has been engaged with Hobart from an urban design perspective (Mona, 2012). Jane Castle highlighted that 'particularly through Leigh [Carmichael], there has been a great desire to align more with an urban design direction' as the festival has progressed (Castle, interview, 2014). The layout of the festivals has encouraged a pedestrian experience of the city, which resonates with a primary recommendation from the Gehl report (2010) to enhance pedestrian patronage in an attempt to activate the city. As Newman and Burnett identify, 'walkability has been used previously as a measure of livability' (2013: 237).

The Gehl report (2010) identifies the limited pedestrian presence within the city, specifically the lack of pedestrian traffic during winter weekdays and a dramatic year round decrease in pedestrian presence outside traditional working hours. These limited hours of city activity have ramifications for the sustainability of local businesses, community safety and attractiveness to visitors, as 'when shops and offices close down and the majority of all

[76] Additionally, Mona Business Manager Mark Wilsdon sits on GASP's Social Enterprise Committee (Dickson, interview, 2015).

visitors leave the city centre… Large sections of the city centre become more or less deserted' (Gehl, 2010: 26). In 2013, the Dark Mofo Festival Program issued an encouragement to visitors and residents of the city:

> Go On, Walk
> This is a festival of the flaneur: the urban perambulator. Which is a deeply wanky way of saying: get amongst it, walk about the waterfront from venue to venue, **don't just sit there.** Get the blood flowing to the extremities (Dark Mofo, 2013a, emphasis in original).

According to Gehl, walking the city encourages more people to take to the streets, fulfilling a 'self-reinforcing process' as 'people come where people are' (2010). The directive delivered by Mona to 'get amongst it' encourages an activated and lively city, and the strength of public enthusiasm reflects the success of Mona in achieving this goal (audience engagement with public space is detailed in relation to Dark Park and Macquarie Point in Chapter Nine). Castle viewed the 2013 and 2014 Dark Mofo festivals as highly successful for the city as they are 'all about activating our spaces' (Castle, interview, 2014). City of Hobart manager Michael Daley discussed being 'amazed at getting people out of their house and into the city in the middle of winter' (Daley, interview 2014), and saw this street presence as a key achievement of the festival. The Mona flaneur directive directly assists in combating Gehl's findings that there was '26% less pedestrian traffic recorded on a winter weekday compared with a summer weekday' (2010: 28).

The instruction to walk reflects the somatic experience that Mona deliberately curates, as the physicality of walking gets 'the blood flowing' (Dark Mofo, 2013a) and conforms to the Mona strategy of privileging a felt and embodied experience. Carmichael expressed enthusiasm that reviewers for the 2014 festival were physically pushing themselves to get to and fully participate in the broad range of events on offer (fieldwork, 2014), and in the lead-up to the 2015 winter festival explained 'those wanting to be pushed out of their comfort zones will have plenty of opportunity, and those that don't will just have to hang on until it's over' (Carmichael, as cited in Young, 2015).

The Gehl report (2010) asserts that 'there is great potential to improve the quality of the public spaces along Sullivans Cove and improve the connections between city and the water' (2010: 19). Additionally, Gehl found that while the streets of Hobart are always open to pedestrians, they are not always welcoming spaces, especially after dark when the city

quickly loses an active street presence (Gehl, 2010). Dark Mofo directly encourages waterfront and CBD pedestrianisation, particularly on evenings when the majority of festival programming occurs. This emphasis on walking the city re-asserts the significance of quality pedestrian access and experience as a marker of city livability.

7.5.1 Future Hobart

In the Dark Mofo 2015-17 business plan, the festival outlined a key objective to 'enhance the image of Hobart as a creative city' (Dark Mofo, 2015b: 16). This engagement with the city had previously been evident at Dark Mofo through the 'Future Hobart' event (2014) and 'Hothouse' (2015)[77], which were concerned with collaborating with local residents to understand, challenge and agitate how the city of Hobart operates.

The 2014 Future Hobart project and event specifically explored issues of public space and urban design, and was aligned with the City of Hobart's Creative Hobart policy (the CoH were co-presenters of the events with Mona in both iterations of the projects)[78]. Future Hobart brought acclaimed New York artist and architect Vito Acconci (of Acconci Studio) to Tasmania to present a potential design solution linking the Queens Domain to the Cenotaph via a bridge, which had previously been identified by the City of Hobart as one of six 'problem areas'. The council had sourced potential sites for the project from the ICAP (Wilkie, 2010) and the Queen Domain Master Plan (Inspiring Place, 2013).[79] The initiative included a public forum and presentation of the Acconci Studio design held at the City Hall and a concept exhibition displayed at the Old Mercury building across the road (Dark Mofo and Detached offices). Tasmanian urbanist Helen Norrie described the project as 'more a provocation than a proposal', and 'a thread of an idea. It could take many forms or simply act to inspire broader conceptual approach to understanding how to shape the city in a way that celebrates place, both from the past and present, as well as into the future' (Norrie, 2014, n.p).

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[77] The 2015 Hothouse utilised 'creative thinking to explore and respond to issues that impact on Tasmania's educational outcomes' (Dark Mofo, 2015a) and while the initiative had spatial elements in regards to the innovative structure built by bamboo specialists Cave Urban and University of Tasmania masters students, it was not specifically engaged with urban design. As such, the 2014 event has been selected for discussion here.

[78] The 2014 project was presented by Mona, the City of Hobart and Detached, with the public forum held in the Hobart Town Hall and concept exhibition displayed in the Detached-owned Old Mercury building (site of the Dark Mofo offices). The 2015 event, Hothouse, was co-presented by Dark Mofo, the University of Tasmania, Clemenger Tasmania/OMD, the City of Hobart and News Corp Australia.

[79] The Queens Domain master plan was developed by Tasmanian landscape architecture firm Inspiring Place in 2013, following a national public tender. The master plan was developed in response to the 1996 site management plan and was directed by community consultation.

While Acconci's design was never realised, the City of Hobart was able to leverage the publicity and interest in the bridge to apply for funding from the ANZAC Centenary Public Fund (Castle, interview, 2015). In 2015, the CoH announced it had secured $8 million in funding for a pedestrian bridge linking the Queens Domain and the Cenotaph (CoH, 2015b). Castle described how Future Hobart represented a 'willingness from Dark Mofo's perspective and the City's perspective to involve the community in conversations about what occurs in the city' and that 'from our perspective it is a real success' (Castle, interview, 2015). The Future Hobart event raised the profile of the Queens Domain bridge, and allowed the council to apply for funding that 'we never would have gotten it without that project' (Castle, interview, 2015).

Organisers provided multiple platforms for the public to express their visions for Hobart, using the #futurehobart hashtag, a link on the darkmofo.net website, or scribbling on the wall of the Old Mercury building foyer. The commentary on the wall was revealing not so much of public responses to the Acconci project, but of what a liveable city meant to both residents and visitors. Frequently repeated themes included a need to improve public transport, increased public space, a focus on the pedestrian, public housing and the importance of buildings in the city (fieldwork, 2014). This exchange demonstrated that for the participating public, a design solution was not necessarily a built one, but was about a change in approach to civic spaces and community engagement.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how Dark Mofo has impacted on the spatial, economic and cultural make-up of Hobart in ways which extend beyond the annual two-week mid-winter festival period. These ongoing impacts have been stimulated or enhanced by Mona's activity, but are able to be sustained beyond direct connection with the museum, through firstly reimagining what is possible in the city, and secondly having a loosened regulatory structure to support this activity and engagement. This is evident is both entrepreneurial businesses and publicly funded city activities.

City activation strategies have been critiqued in academic literature, for encouraging the privatisation of public places (Finn, 2014; Mayer, 2013), and in relation to food vans specifically, for being associated with gentrification and 'pop-up' petit-bourgeois culture (Scott and Szili, 2017). I argue that while these are valid concerns, the small scale of food van activity in Hobart, coupled with the sensitive application of restricted operating licenses

from the City of Hobart, has yet to result in an erosion of public space. The potential of diminished public space and civic experiences is discussed in Chapter Nine.

The following chapter extends upon the arguments for Dark Mofo's impact on city vibrancy and examines how grassroots innovations have attempted to occupy and expand upon spaces Mona and Dark Mofo have carved out in the city. Chapter Eight simultaneously recognises the leniency Dark Mofo has been afforded by local governance bodies, the successes this has enabled, and the limitations it creates.

Chapter Eight: Making Spaces - Grassroots responses in the city

> *It took a few years for the penny to drop that the culture the city sought was as much in the streets - or in the clubs and garages and bedsits - as it was in the official festivals and buildings (O'Connor, 2015: 174).*

The previous chapter outlined how Dark Mofo and Mona's engagement in the city helped to stimulate ongoing activity in Hobart, and aligned with Tasmanian state government and City of Hobart policy for urban regeneration and city activation. Here I introduce local grassroots cultural projects and activity in the city, which sit outside official policy or funding initiatives. The importance of cultural activity beyond the Mona experience has been specifically addressed by David Walsh, who expressed his concern that 'Mona will slice through the grassroots of creativity, and that can't be good for the future of our arts' (Walsh, 2018: n.p.).

The significance of grassroots creative projects to the cultural economy is well established by Peck (2005), Luckman et al. (2009), Throsby (2006) and O'Connor and Gibson (2014). Luckman et al. advocate for the academic recognition of experimental and subcultural activity, which predominately extends beyond creativity-led public policy and is 'often deeply embedded in grassroots creative scenes' (2009: 72). O'Connor and Gibson similarly encourage the 'acknowledgement of the role of low profile activities and businesses' as part of their 'sustainable/equity' method for assessing culture (2014: 62). The 'low profile' activities explored here describe the nuanced and complex cultural economy of Hobart, and the multiple ways in which Mona has engaged with it.

Firstly, I outline the development of artist-run spaces The Arts Factory (2013) and Visual Bulk (2015) in Hobart since Mona's arrival. The key themes arising from interviews with the directors of these initiatives were access to space, developing a community, rent affordability, bureaucratic process, and strategically capitalising on Mona's presence. Secondly, this chapter examines the Electrona Festival (2014), as a temporary city-based grassroots initiative which had multiple spatial, social, employment and aesthetic intersections with Mona and Dark Mofo.

Research into the impact of artist-run spaces (also know as artist-run initiatives, or ARIs) by Tremblay and Pilati (2007) and Arthurs (2012) found that these artist spaces

contribute significantly to the cultural economy of cities in terms of 'community revitalisation and artistic development' (Arthurs, 2012: 3). Arthurs further observed that artist-run spaces have 'historically acted as powerful catalysts for creativity in cities by making significant contributions to their ability to home-grow, attract, and retain artists, art productions, and audiences' (2012: 3). This chapter details the emergence of Hobart-based ARIs and grassroots events as examples through which to explore the connections between bottom-up, and top-down cultural activity in the city. Where I have previously outlined government responses to Mona's arrival (see Chapter Four and Chapter Five), this chapter describes local artistic development which sits outside policy interventions, and is able to operate by negotiating or stretching, regulatory frameworks.

8.1 Contemporary Relations

Research by Luckman (2006) and Miles (2005) observed that grassroots activity tends to be initiated and operate outside cultural and development policy. The relationship between small-scale activity and flagship cultural institutions (such as the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao) is identified by Miles as connected but unequally distributed. He argues that large-scale cultural and tourism drawcards are seen as enhancing city competitiveness and tourism, 'while grassroots culture requires a decentred approach, so that the former tends to be supported at the cost of the latter' (Miles, 2005: 899). Here I apply a decentred research approach to explore the relationships between arts collectives, organisations, and activities as contemporaneous rather than directly aligned with or in direct competition for funding.

In examining multiple aspects of Hobart's cultural ecology, I am able to explore 'relationships and patterns within the overall system, showing how careers develop, ideas transform, money flows, and product and content move, to and fro, around and between homemade and commercial sectors' (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016: 2). In viewing three Hobart-based grassroots engagements through a lens of relationships and patterns, the extent to which the post-Mona environment creates 'spaces in which something can happen' (Crossick, 2006: 17) can be examined.

8.1.1 The Arts Factory

The development of The Arts Factory in 2013 was in direct response to the arrival of Mona. Self-described as a 'multidisciplinary creative hub' (The Arts Factory, 2013), the

artist-run space sought to incorporate 'events, workshops, a cafe and an "art store" for emerging artists to sell work' (The Arts Factory, 2013). The project, like many emergent initiatives in Tasmania, directly referenced Mona as a catalyst. The Arts Factory situated its genesis in relation to the museum, noting that Mona had '…refocused the spotlight on Hobart's niche art scene' (The Arts Factory, 2013).

The enterprise emerged from student frustrations over the weak relationship between the UTAS Arts School and Mona, particularly during festival times. Alisdair Doyle, who was studying at UTAS and co-founder of the initiative, explained how he and fellow students felt there was a 'renaissance of art within Hobart, and it didn't seem like the art school was part of that, and we thought that was a real tragedy' (Doyle, interview, 2014). The response from UTAS School of Arts to capitalise on the Dark Mofo crowds (who in 2013 in particular were concentrated at the Mac 1 and Mac 2 sheds, directly opposite the Hunter Street UTAS campus) was viewed as anaemic by Doyle and his peers:

> We thought the art school was really disconnected from its surroundings, where it was, its geographical locations, and I think it really hit home for me at Dark Mofo where there was this phenomenal arts festival happening 50m away from the arts school and people were not even aware the art school was there, the art school did not want to take part, it didn't want to open its doors, it didn't want to have people come look at what is going on (Doyle, interview, 2014).

This perceived lack of engagement provided the stimulus for the development of The Arts Factory initiative. Doyle's comment also demonstrates the spatial significance of cultural activity, where the idea was prompted by the physical proximity of the School of Arts to the Mona festival activity.

8.1.2 Finding Space

Finding a site for The Arts Factory was a major difficulty and barrier in establishing the artist-run space (Doyle, interview, 2014). The lack of spaces for emerging artists has been highlighted by Tasmanian cultural commentators and interview participants (Harper 2015; Hawthorne, 2013, 2016) as influential on the development of grassroots arts-based activity in the city. Harper explained,

> Despite all the excitement generated by the apparent growth of arts and culture in Hobart, it has become more of a challenge for new, emerging artists to exhibit their work and build their careers. If there's one thing we know for certain that artists need, it's space - space to show their output to the art audience and practice their craft (Harper, 2015, n.p.).

Alisdair Doyle reflected that during the set-up process of The Arts Factory, 'funding and space' took up 'ninety-nine per cent' of the organisers' energy and attention (Doyle, interview, 2014). He explained 'there seems to be spaces everywhere, and a lot of disused spaces, but in terms of leasing them and finding out who owns these spaces, how to get in them, it is incredibly difficult' (Doyle, interview, 2014). While initially envisaged as a shipping container complex in the port area to connect with the UTAS Arts School, regulations, costs and council permits saw The Arts Factory reimagined in a South Hobart warehouse facility (Doyle, interview, 2014). While researching grant opportunities, Doyle and collaborators became aware that 'there are resources out there…but they are generally unable to help you with those two big things, which is spaces and funding' (Doyle, interview, 2014). He expanded by saying, 'The bureaucracy has been a huge part to navigate around, and I think that places like Mona and on a substantially smaller scale, places like us, open up a range of opportunities for people and cut through some of that bureaucracy' (Doyle, interview, 2014).

These difficulties have been recognised by the City of Hobart in regard to both council-owned spaces and disused private spaces. In 2015, the council launched the Guide to Creative Places initiative to encourage the use of under- and dis-used council-owned facilities. The Guide to Creative Places (CoH, 2015c) is a compilation of city sites available for use and hire. The document clearly outlines the required planning permissions for each location, processes surrounding temporary occupancy, relevant noise restrictions and contacts linking applicants to the appropriate departments of the council. Jane Castle from the City of Hobart described the document as 'aspirational', as it opened up seventeen new spaces for public use (Castle, interview, 2015).

Additionally, Castle discussed a 'Pop Up Retail' initiative in collaboration with the Chamber of Commerce. This initiative aimed to utilise vacant commercial spaces in the city, facilitated by the City of Hobart undertaking the responsibility of brokering the 'relationship between cultural sector and that space' and assuming the risk (Castle, interview, 2015). While still under development, this model mirrors the Renew Newcastle legal framework for

enabling low-rent spaces for rehearsals, short-term retail, exhibitions and other activities (Westbury, 2015). The initiative aims to form a legislative model which provides flexible space for projects which are initiated outside council or government funding.

While the City of Hobart has undertaken considerable moves to streamline processes and requirements (seminar notes, Mona Effect 2015), The Arts Factory found working alongside government presented challenges. Fieldwork in the Dark Mofo offices (2014 and 2015) also highlighted the difficulties of collaboration between different organisational structures - particularly when events required access to externally owned sites where arts and cultural activity are not consistent with an organisation's primary business. For example, Dark Mofo and MONA FOMA festival organisers have worked closely with Tas Ports as a venue partner in presenting projects and artworks in the waterfront precinct. Both the City of Hobart and The Arts Factory representatives spoke of the different ideologies intersecting when combining arts and music with an operational port (Doyle, interview, 2014; Holliday, interview, 2014). For The Arts Factory, this process rendered a waterfront site for the artist-run space as unachievable (Doyle, interview, 2014).

As The Arts Factory initiative demonstrates, the flexibility encouraged in the City of Hobart's Creative Hobart document (CoH, 2013a) can prove difficult to realise, as the regulatory divisions of the council are bound to operate within strong bureaucratic frameworks which can prove limiting for experimental and evolving performances and events.

The issue of access to space also connects with the broader impact of development in the city (further discussed in Chapter Ten). Alisdair Doyle was aware that The Arts Factory sat within established narratives and experiences of urban activation, and he drew directly on international experience to inform the establishment of the Hobart art spaces:

> when I lived in Berlin, everybody is involved in some kind of art project, and it's such an important tool to establish community…and for me that has been the biggest interest in this project - urban renewal through creative enterprise, bringing places to life, and that has been a big motivator for me (Doyle, interview, 2014).

Doyle's comment demonstrates the currency of 'urban renewal' in local discussion and an awareness of international precedents for city transformation which utilise cultural activity as a stimulus. While much of this thesis has investigated specific local examples to illustrate the impact of Mona and Dark Mofo, it is necessary to clearly frame these local

experiences as informed by global flows of people, ideas and actions. In reviewing the 'myth' of the Bilbao Effect, Franklin (2016: 80) highlights the need to acknowledge how the museum was 'embedded in a complex network of cultural, economic and political institutions, capacities, dispositions, and practices', following both the work of Plaza (2000, 2008) and Castells' 'space of flows' (1996). This space of flows is relevant here for describing the evolution of grassroots cultural activity, which while small-scale and responsive to place, is equally informed by broader mobilities and connections.

8.1.3 Loose Space

In 2016, the lease on The Arts Factory's South Hobart space ended, and the collective of artists, musicians and other cultural practitioners moved into other independent sites throughout the city. A short lifecycle for grassroots cultural enterprises and artist-run initiatives is not uncommon, and Tasmanian cultural critic Hawthorne has highlighted that,

> Lack of stability is what makes these temporary spaces interesting…they are supported by alcohol sales at openings and studio/gallery space hire, while extra cash is often provided by individuals already volunteering their time and labour, and/or start-up crowdfunding campaigns (Hawthorne, 2016, n.p.).

These temporary engagements align with what Franck and Stevens (2007) have called 'loose space', where 'even if they are long-lasting, they occur without official sanction and assurance of continuity and permanence from those in authority' (2007: 3). These loose space activities give 'cities life and vitality' (Franck and Stevens, 2007: 3). This 'loose space' is evident in the festivals, markets, exhibitions, clothes swaps, performances and gigs held at The Arts Factory between 2014-2016. While the objectives of The Arts Factory aligned with those of Arts Tasmania and City of Hobart (in particular their activation strategies), it sat outside considerations for funding. The loose space within which The Arts Factory was located and developed therefore enabled it to achieve 'life and vitality' in Hobart, without the 'official sanction' of governing bodies (Franck and Stevens, 2007: 3). This vitality and freedom was generated without financial or logistical support, and without financial compensation for the time the co-directors contributed to the project.

Grassroots support for The Arts Factory was viewed as central to its success by Doyle, who cited funding accessed through the Pozible campaign as evidence of community

support and enthusiasm, (Doyle, interview, 2014). The space was volunteer-run, and relied on donated materials, time, labour and energy as part of a co-operative model. This financial, emotional and labour buy-in from interested parties is consistent with the structure of ARI and cultural spaces, and with the AHCR's report findings (2016) that 'the cultural economy cannot be understood without taking into account free labour and emotional rewards' (Crossick and Kasynska, 2016: 11).

Peck argues that 'the production of authentic neighbourhood cultures through deliberate public-policy interventions is a daunting, if not infeasible, task' (2005: 749). In her study of twelve artist-run spaces in Vancouver, Arthurs (2012) found that the complexity of the application process and the 'monetary costs of obtaining permits and licences often compound the financial difficulties involved in creating and sustaining the operations of non-profit and independent arts facilities' (2012: 110). Arthurs' research highlights the operational and logistical tensions which occur when grassroots initiatives act outside governmental frameworks, while attempting to achieve policy aims. As discussed below in relation to the Electrona festival (Section 8.4.2), the bureaucratic requirements can be burdensome for small-scale operations to negotiate, even when the aims are consistent with cultural policy objectives.

8.2 Trickle-Down

In her examination of the cultural economy of Hobart, Hawthorne (2016) argues that the 'booming "cultural economy" in Tasmania', particularly in relation to the rise in tourism following Mona's opening in 2011, is reliant upon free labor from artists and cultural producers, and identifies that 'artists are rightly questioning the beneficiaries of this new economy (2016: n.p). Hawthorne draws connections between the booming post-Mona cultural and tourist economy and the robust but financially vulnerable position that artist run-spaces and other cultural organisations occupy in the 'grassroots arts scene' (Hawthorne, 2016: n.p.). This critique articulates the strength of the grassroots approach and the transactions of value which facilitate its operations, while questioning the validity of the trickle-down from Mona to local artists of a financial boom. David Walsh has also recognised this tension, stating 'I've seen a few comments suggesting that Mona damages the local arts scene - that it's a bullying big brother that always gets its own way. That hurts, and the reason it hurts is that it's almost certainly true' (Walsh, 2018: n.p.).

The potential for economic trickle-down was originally envisaged by The Arts Factory, as Doyle intended to incorporate a retail element where artists could directly sell to tourists at the waterfront (Doyle, interview, 2014). However, negotiations with Tas Ports and UTAS failed to secure a site at the waterfront space of tourism flows and the 'new economy' of tourism dollars remained unavailable for The Arts Factory. While an economic rationale was not a driving force in the ethos of The Arts Factory, this experience highlights that logistical constraints can provide barriers for local artists hoping to benefit from the Mona-stimulated economy of the city.

8.2.1 'More for your MoFo'[80]

The presence of grassroots and community-driven arts spaces and events not only enhances 'civic identity' (O'Connor and Gibson, 2014: 57) and activity in the city, but simultaneously provides a body of locally produced work upon which Mona can draw to supplement its festival programs. Evans (2009) cites interconnectedness between large and small operations as sustaining and facilitating a robust cultural environment:

> in terms of urban policy, viewing both micro and meta-critiques together in context and in terms of the linkages between local and political economies - and between large firms, institutions and local economies and enterprises - might therefore be seen as a more valuable contribution to the discourse and requisite methodologies; less so, yet more cluster 'concepts' and explanatory creative occupation (class) and industry (employment) configurations (Evans, 2009: 1031).

This approach acknowledges the co-constitutive roles of independent enterprises and large institutions, as illustrated by the relationships Mona has developed with Hobart-based cultural organisations.

In 2015, the MONA FOMA festival program featured an exhibition by Hobart-based ARI, Constance[81]. Subsequently, the Dark Mofo programming for 2016 and 2017 included Constance-run exhibitions in a disused city space. In addition to this formal programming inclusion, as part of the 2015 winter and 2016 summer festivals Constance gallery produced

[80] Title of an online article regarding experiences beyond the museum in the 2015 summer MONA FOMA program (Hennessey, 2015).
[81] This ARI predates Mona's arrival and lost funding in 2013.

exhibitions which temporally aligned with MONA FOMA and Dark Mofo, but were not formally curated as part of the program. The gallery therefore tapped into flows of visitors and local enthusiasm for art-based events, but were not officially part of these programs.

Beyond the direct role of content provision, small-scale local spaces are significant for enabling the development of artists in the emerging stages of their career. The importance of these developmental spaces and pathways was identified by Jane Castle as a growing area of importance for the City of Hobart and its funding strategies (interview, 2015). The role of artists producing local culture has been highlighted by Olive (2012) as significant to authenticate cities, particularly to visitors, in contributing to the distinctiveness of a place.

Similarly, Markusen and Gadwa contend,

> A culture-based revitalization effort must be appropriate to its local circumstances, not a 'me, too' replica of what other cities and towns are doing. The best of the projects nurture distinctive qualities and resources that already exist in the community and can be celebrated to serve community members while drawing in visitors and new businesses (2010: 383).

The role of artist-run spaces and grassroots initiatives in Hobart is structured to enable the ongoing development of culture in the state, and provide linkages both within the city and through national cultural networks.

8.2.2 Visual Bulk

In 2013 Constance ARI shifted from a gallery structure to a site-less project model. In response to this, and the lack of other ARI-style exhibition spaces in the city, Visual Bulk gallery and studio opened in late 2015, directed by local artists Grace Herbert and Theia Connell. In contrast to The Arts Factory, the Visual Bulk directors did not cite Mona as a direct impetus for development. However, both artists have multiple points of intersection with the museum and associated festivals, as well as with the local cultural economy more broadly.

The development of Visual Bulk connects with key themes of this thesis and resonatea with broader fields of academic enquiry in the cultural economy, including cultural communities, linkages, questions of value, city image and rent affordability. In an interview

preceding the opening of the gallery and studio space, Connell detailed the intentions behind the project in this extended passage of transcribed text:

> So me and Grace Herbert are opening up, we have a space on Argyle St in the city, which is a pretty run-down space at the moment. It was leased to use as a storage space, but it is kind of an old garage, workshop garage space, and we got it initially as a studio, a shared studio space, but we have decided that we also want to use that space to host exhibitions and also maybe artist talks and lectures and workshops and things like that. But ultimately we want to use it as a studio that when we want to we can shift that and set it up as an exhibition space that doesn't necessarily have a commercial outcome… We are really interested in trying to bring down people from interstate, to try and inject maybe more of an experimental discourse into Hobart, because I think we have both felt that is lacking. I mean there is Mona at one end of the spectrum, which is seen as kind of this incredibly avant-garde trailblazer kind of space, and in Hobart there is really not that much that challenges the traditional commercial model of a gallery… But we think that is really important, to not just represent local artists, but try and create a dialogue across from Hobart to the mainland. Because there is that dialogue anyway through Mona, I mean so many interstate visitors to Mona, but we want to broaden that out to something that is definitely local and Hobart-focused, but is not so stuck in that world of Hobart commercial space art… (Connell, interview, 2015).

In this passage, Mona is understood as a 'trailblazer' in contemporary practice, but the artist identifies a disjuncture between the work exhibited at the museum and the kind of artistic practices shown in commercial city galleries. The rationale behind Visual Bulk was to promote and exhibit Tasmanian work, but also to connect with broader national and international contemporary art audiences. The grassroots artist-run space connects with established ARI spaces in Victoria and New South Wales, and in 2017 was the hub of Hobienalle festival which brought 100 emerging and mid-career artists from 18 Australian and New Zealand ARI's to Hobart.[82] These national and international collaborations allow for mobilities and connections which extend beyond the spatial confines of the city, where

[82] The artist-run spaces which participated in Hobienalle were Constance (Tas), Sawtooth (Tas), Visual Bulk (Tas), The Curated Shelf + Radio 33 (Tas), c3 (Vic), Kings ARI (Vic), Bus Projects (Vic), Alaska (NSW), Frontyard (NSW), Outer Space (Qld), Watch This Space (NT), Sister (SA), FELPspace (SA), MOANA (WA), Success (WA), Australian National Capital Artists Inc (ACT), play_station (NZ), and Meanwhile (NZ).

Visual Bulk connects horizontally with similar initiatives operating in Australia and vertically with the power and prestige of Mona through festival programming and audience flows.

Grace Herbert and Theia Connell initially met in Melbourne while volunteering at the Australian Centre of Contemporary Art (ACCA), and subsequently both worked at Mona when they moved (independently) to Hobart. Herbert is a Tasmanian native, who returned to Hobart after studying Fine Arts in Melbourne. Before relocating back to Hobart, she noticed a shift in Melbourne friends' perceptions of Tasmania:

> I remember when I first moved over to Melbourne, and people asked where I was from and I would I say I was from Tasmania, and the response was that I was immediately seen as pretty uncool and 'well no wonder you moved away from Hobart' and people would kind of cringe. And then when I moved back [in 2014], everyone was saying 'oh that's so cool, so arty, great, there is so much amazing art happening there now (interview, 2014).

The transformation of interstate perceptions of Tasmania is not a focus of this thesis, but the changing image of Hobart was observed by Ryan in research on Mona's impact (2016). Ryan found that Mona's arrival has prompted an enhanced reputation and identity for the state, for both local residents and external viewers.

For Victorian-born Theia Connell, Mona provided the direct impetus for relocating to Tasmania, and on arrival she began working at the museum in a front-of-house positiont. Mona provided Connell with 'the opportunity to find relevant work, to find work in an area that would support my art practice and still stay in the same world' (Connell, interview, 2015).

Two other Mona staff members described the value of working at Mona as a means for artists to find employment in a relevant field (L. James, interview, 2015; Croswell, interview, 2013). One artist working at Mona was reticent about the 'glorified customer service role' of his front-of-house position, but acknowledged the benefits of gaining a job in the cultural field, 'working in something that I care about' (L. James, interview, 2015). Connell's relocation to Tasmania also resonates with O'Connor's observation that Mona's impact on the cultural economy of the city 'encourage[s] people to relocate' (O'Connor, as cited in Abend, 2016).

8.2.3 Grassroots and Mona Networks

Beyond providing financial stability through employment at the museum, Connell acknowledged the role of Mona in stimulating and facilitating social interaction. The artist rents a house with two co-workers at the museum, and her primary social group stems from the museum, as well as her connections to the local cultural community. She explained,

> I think working at Mona was this incredibly swift shortcut into the arts scene in a way - well maybe not the arts 'scene' in terms of the contemporary arts outside of Mona, but into other young artists, and other older artists, and writers, and a broader arts field really congregates around Mona in the workspace (interview, 2015).

The social significance of the museum is evident in the Mona staff soccer, netball and volleyball teams participating in local social rosters, and an annual Mona staff music event at a Hobart live music venue where staff members with bands perform. These interactions and collaborations sit outside formal institutionalised networks -such as membership to the Tasmanian Creative Industries (TCI), or attending Arts Tasmania information evenings regarding grant applications or commission opportunities - but are significant to the mechanisms of the cultural economy, where social networks blur into professional practice.

Informal and social networks between grassroots actors also constitute a sharing economy of equipment, materials, expertise and volunteer pools, particularly for expensive projectors and lighting rigs which would be cost-prohibitive for small volunteer-run spaces to own or hire. Borrowing of equipment also travels vertically through more established organisations through formal requests (e.g. Dark Mofo borrowed megaphones from the Festival of Voices in 2015 [fieldwork, 2015]), but for smaller ARIs is primarily organised over casual encounters and social interactions (Connell, interview, 2015). In 2016, when The Arts Factory closed, their bar was relocated to the Visual Bulk space and continued to serve a similar clientele, albeit in a different location in the city (fieldwork, 2016). Back-of-house staff from Mona also volunteered their time at Visual Bulk events by rigging up the space ready for sound performances or assisting with lighting. These examples demonstrate the 'complex interdependencies' of the cultural economy of the city (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016: 12) and the multiple and dense networks which support cultural activity.

Community, networks and collaborations are integral to the strength of the cultural economy of the city, and interviews and fieldwork have shown both the social aspect of these communities and the multiple ways in which Mona is interlinked with them. The following

section outlines the difficulties for emerging artists in procuring affordable exhibition and studio spaces in the city, while also highlighting the strong social and cultural networks which develop around these spaces once operational.

8.3 Attractive Opportunities

In addition to new perceptions of the state (Ryan, 2016), the enhanced 'pull' of Mona attracting visitors to the island was noted by interview participants. Josh Santospirito, a musician and graphic artist, explained the increased interest he found when asking interstate and international artists to participate in his graphic festival:

> I found it easier to get people to come to my festival. Comics and illustrators would come cheaper, because they wanted to come to Tasmania for a weekend and go to the museum, and it is the same thing with the music scene…and that was part of my pitch to getting a few massive names to my festival - come stay at my house, I'll lend you my car, you can go to the museum. Sell it like a holiday, rather than come to my festival and work, which is nicer for everybody (Santospirito, interview, 2015).

This sentiment was echoed by the director of Contemporary Art Tasmania (CAT) who described the organisation's development program 'Shotgun' which connects emerging artists with established practitioners. The Shotgun program operates by bringing artists to Tasmania for a weekend and providing accommodation and a small per diem for their time. CAT director Michael Edwards explained, 'what we do is give them a day off in Tasmania, and we *all know* where they go!' (Edwards, interview, 2015, emphasis added). Edwards cited Mona as bringing people to Tasmania who 'wouldn't have come' otherwise, or who 'would have come eventually' but recognised the museum as a catalyst for their trip (Edwards, interview, 2015).

These interview responses demonstrate the persuasive power of Mona's allure for both grassroots and government-supported arts bodies attracting cultural producers to the state. Edwards noted the value of visiting artists connecting local practitioners to a broader national or international community, which can provide linkages, networks and exchanges beyond the state, allowing Tasmanian artists to exhibit or collaborate outside of Hobart. Both Mona and local ARIs participate in stimulating the conditions for the 'social phenomenon'

(Hemel, 2002) of cultural activity through encouraging collaboration and the exchange of ideas.

8.3.1 Renting Space

In addition to Visual Bulk's socio-spatial embeddedness in both local and national/international flows, the process of establishing the physical space of the gallery and studio connected with multiple aspects of the cultural economy is explored in this research. Co-director Theia Connell described the difficulties of finding a studio and exhibition site:

> It took us a while, we have been looking for quite a while, and we were mostly finding spaces that are in Moonah or Glenorchy, or on the other side of the river. But after a while of looking we found this space on Gumtree and it was this kind of storage space, and it was hard to find, and we got lucky in the end that we were able to find something that was affordable, because we wouldn't have really been able to set it up as an exhibition space if it wasn't so cheap. And again, that is one of the beauties of Hobart, you are empowered by the fact that things are actually affordable as someone who doesn't earn a heap of money. You can still have something exciting that doesn't need to have a focus on a financial outcome. Yeah, so it took a while, but it was good timing and good researching over a long period of time (Connell, interview, 2015).

This passage details the difficulties of finding and securing a space in the city, which in comparison to mainland Australian cities had ample affordable sites but limited logistical support to make connections with the people who own them. As the Dark Mofo festivals have shown, there are many unoccupied or under-used sites in the city, but for Connell, access to these disused spaces proved difficult. Economically, Hobart offered advantages over larger mainland cities in terms of rent and real estate prices, but did not yet have the policy infrastructure or private owner awareness to encourage individuals to seek out under-utilised spaces.

The affordability of living in Hobart, quality of life, and access to cultural communities were all raised in interviews with local artists as benefits of being located in Tasmania. Alisdair Doyle, who is not originally from Tasmania, expressed a desire to stay in Hobart as 'there is a lot going for it being here as an artist, and it is relatively cheap rent in comparison to places like Melbourne!' (Doyle, interview, 2014). Tasmanian artist Grace

Herbert described the quality of life and affordable living as key motivations for relocating back to Hobart after years of work and study in Melbourne. She explained that when living in Victoria, 'between my house rent and my studio rent, I was working so much that I didn't have time to make anything' (Herbert, interview, 2015).

Low cost of living in Hobart was also highlighted by local restaurateur David Moyle, who credited the experimentation and innovation of his restaurant Franklin to Hobart's affordability.[83] The chef explained 'you don't get the same opportunities in big cities…the overheads are so high that every seat has a dollar value' (Moyle quoted in Stewart, 2015). The chef also cited Mona as a direct reason for opening Franklin, stating 'the museum gives you confidence that there's enough people coming through who want quality. I don't think the restaurant could have existed without it' (Moyle, quoted in Abend, 2016).

The importance of affordable rent for successful cities, and as an argument against gentrification, has been most famously demonstrated by Zukin in her seminal text *Loft Living* (1995). In January 2018, 'Tasmania's economic boom' was reported as significantly augmenting the rental market in Hobart, which moved to the 'lowest capital city rental availability rate, at just 0.3%' (Whiting, 2018: n.p.). Hobart's low cost of living for maintaining the diversity of the cultural economy should therefore be taken into account when discussing the development of the city (see Chapter Nine), which has the potential to disrupt the cheaper rental spaces for housing, studio and exhibition purposes.

8.3.2 Electrona Festival

The 2015 Electrona festival is a further example of grassroots activity which sat outside both Mona and local governance but intersected with the two. Liam James (winner of the 2015 Mona Prize) and Alasdair Doyle (co-founder of The Arts Factory studios) developed a three-day music and arts festival, *Electrona 7054: An Ode to Suburban Sprawl.* The festival was named after a residential suburb south of Hobart, and featured visual artists and musicians practicing across a broadly defined 'electronic' field.

The festival was self-initiatied and celebrated 'the proliferation of new media, digital and electronic arts' (L. James, interview, 2015a). Co-organiser Liam James explained the festival was also about 'supporting and celebrating the creative scene here, especially with

[83] Franklin is housed in the Old Mercury building complex, owned by Penny Clive, which also is the home of the Mona communications and Dark Mofo teams.

the visual arts program…all the artists are Tasmanian or have some correlation directly with Tasmania' (L. James, interview, 2015a). The event was run by approximately 20 volunteers, sourced from The Arts Factory and other cultural networks, highlighting the closely networked cultural community in the city, and collaborative interactions – largely borne of social relationships - which operate in Hobart.

While referentially suburban, the festival was ultimately an urban experience, which utilised several spaces previously occupied by MONA FOMA and Dark Mofo. Working closely with the City of Hobart, the Electrona organisers arranged access to the space under the Town Hall (originally made available by the CoH for the 2014 Dark Mofo festival), the underground cinema (previously used for 2013 MONA FOMA), and the Odeon site (previous Dark Mofo and MONA FOMA venue, now under development with Melbourne business in conjunction with Mona [see Chapter Nine]). In using these spaces, Electrona was able to exploit the increased publicity (as well as logistical and occupational health and safety groundwork with the owners and council) Mona had generated for the sites, while sparking their own 'unfixing' (Massey, 2005) of the museum's publicly perceived ownership of these sites.

This re-articulation and appropriation of the spaces aligns with Harvey's observation that 'space and the political organisation of space express social relationships but also react back upon them' (Harvey, 1973: 306). Electrona festival operated within the broader context of Mona and City of Hobart legal and identity ownership of city sites, but in utilising them, reacted 'back upon them' to inscribe a new layer of activity and identity onto the spaces, and new socio-spatial relationships for audiences and participants.

Being associated with Mona, and 'standing on the shoulders' of the institution is something recognised as strategic by many Tasmanian individuals and organisations. Liam James, spoke of the positive aspects of being associated with the gallery when he won he Mona scholarship, noting that 'the co-branding and having Mona as co-branding to your own personal art branding, is kind of one of the biggest things to have… to have that scholarship on your CV opens a lot of possibilities' (L. James, 2015). In interviews, local artists and designers echoed these sentiments of tapping into Mona's brand recognition and global reach (Herbert, 2014; Wherrett, 2015).

However, while Electrona organisers were aware of the Mona connections to the site, but the festival was conceived as entirely separate to the Mona brand and the organisers were 'trying to stay away from being absorbed by Mona' (L. James, interview, 2015a). This tension between positive brand association and wishing to maintain an independent identity

beyond Mona was similarly raised in interviews with representatives from the City of Hobart (Castle, interview, 2014 and 2015) and other cultural practitioners (Miller, 2015; Connell, 2015, Edwards, 2015).

8.4 Local Development

In acknowledging the potential for Mona to 'absorb' local culture, James echoed comments from Jane Castle of the CoH regarding an absence of developmental local work as part of the Mona festivals. He was critical of programming where the inclusion of local arts and culture events was largely restricted to shows at established venues that 'were going to be on whether Mona is there or not' (L.James, interview, 2015a). James argued that this resulted in Tasmanian festivals where programming is targeted towards 'the outsider or the tourist'. Electrona aimed to mitigate this by creating new cultural content in the city for a local audience. James explained Electrona as a means of 'celebrating the creative scene here, especially the visual arts program' by providing a platform and audience for early career visual artists and musicians (L. James, interview 2015a).

In populating infrequently used spaces with activity, the experimental festival connected with Gehl's recommendations (Gehl, 2010), but also faced policy, logistics and operational barriers. Westbury, in his analysis of the logistical negotiations in urban regeneration activity, argues that 'What it *does* require is a conscious decision to make small things easy…To allow our cities to be platforms for ideas that might not work in order to discover ideas that do' (Westbury, 2015: 163, emphasis in original). In this extended passage, James explained how policy and planning barriers were the primary obstacles to executing a small scale festival in the city:

> …. two out of three of our venues we have needed to get building inspections done, we need to get place of occupancy done, [and] we need to get liquor licenses for all the spaces of course. The first question that anyone asks you is 'what is your public liability and insurance' and I guess these are all things that when you sit down and think 'let's throw an underground music festival'…isn't something that you really think about! The other day we were in The Odeon where the music is going to be, and we were talking to the guy who runs the space, and he was like 'oh, well you guys are going to need to hire 5 exit lights'. And we were like 'oh! Do we?' And he said you need one here, here, here and here, you know, you need

> all these kind of things. It's just crazy the bureaucracy [when] this is in every way a grassroots festival. …Like, the step down from this is a pub gig or a house party. But that step up is seemingly a massive step when you have to have all of these things in place. In one of the art exhibitions, the spaces we have there is an issue with wheelchair accessibility. So we are going to have to get a ramp built, and then that ramp looked at by a building inspector again… I've got to pay for someone to build a ramp and then pay for someone to look it to make sure the person who built the ramp was good enough at building the ramp. I mean, I can see why so many festivals fail! … you are spending the majority of your time and money bogged down in bureaucracy, rather than inventing and creating a really great fun new festival…That fun stuff is about 5%. 95% of the time is spent filling out forms and grant applications and sending emails to people at the council… (L. James, interview, 2015a).

This quote highlights how logistical difficulties occur even while operating under the City of Hobart's new facilitator model, as outlined in the Creative Hobart cultural policy (CoH, 2013a). In a subsequent interview, James explained 'rent and the logistics of the spaces were definitely the largest overheads involved and where a lot of the money went to' in delivering Electrona festival (L. James, interview, 2015b).

8.4.1 Legalities

In researching these grassroots events, it emerged that legal requirements also provided potentially prohibitive barriers to the execution of events. In relation to the need for security guards at the event, Liam James explained that 'the kind of requirements around that were pretty high, but we made some compromises around what we thought we actually needed, rather than what was perhaps required' (L. James, interview, 2015b). Conversations conducted during fieldwork revealed similar approaches from other small-scale independent, as well as funded organisations: in adhering to protocol and policy where possible, but assuming potential risks in order to deliver events which would otherwise be financially or logistically quashed by council requirements. The concerns raised were largely focused around place of occupancy licenses, providing adequate toilet facilities for temporary events in non-plumbed sites, temporary liquor licenses for last minute events, public liability insurance, and gaining council permission for temporary street signage. These concerns were

not limited to grassroots activity, as fieldwork in the Dark Mofo office exposed similar frustrations, in negotiating complex layers of licenses and permits to deliver festival events (fieldwork, 2014, 2015).

These Hobart examples resonate with findings from a study into artist runs spaces in Vancouver, where Arthurs found that council regulations drove some cultural activity 'underground' (2012: 111). The research found that project organisers at the ARIs felt it was occasionally necessary to operate outside the bureaucratic system in order to produce their events. In an Australian context this tension was identified by Prime Minister Turnbull, who referenced the Renew Newcastle as exemplary for its use of 'new ideas and imagination', but recognised that the project was a success 'in spite of government, not because of it' (Turnbull, 2016).

In describing a Mona Effect in Hobart, it is significant to note the structural and policy-based limitations which may limit grassroots initiatives taking full advantage of the 'booming cultural economy' Mona has brought to the city (Hawthorne, 2016: n.p.). Arthurs' (2012) research found that non-profit art spaces contributed positively to the city in regards to 'community revitalisation and artistic development' but were limited in reaching community and financial potential due to policy and planning restrictions (Arthurs, 2012: ii). Stern and Seifert (2007) similarly argue that 'the goal of policy and planning should be to nurture grass-roots districts, remove impediments that prevent them from achieving their potential, and provide the resources they need to flourish' (2007: 5).

8.4.2 Graffiti in the City

The tension between the potential of city activity and the rules which govern city activity is particularly evident in graffiti and street art practices in Hobart. Graffiti and street art played a significant place-making role during the Party in the Lane event through the performance of live-action painting. Both Mona and the City of Hobart have directly employed and encouraged graffiti and street artists. These forms of public art are positioned in a tenuous space of addressing city activation objectives to enhance public spaces, while often viewed as performing an illegal defacement of property. Dovey et al. contend that 'graffiti has both positive and negative symbolic capital, it adds and diminishes streetscape value' (Dovey et al., 2012: 21), and is 'commonly defined as opposite' to high art value in a model of 'destruction versus creation' (Dovey et al., 2012: 22). It is apt then that Mona -

which celebrates a site of 'high' and 'low' art coalescing (Franklin, 2014) - should promote the work of local street artists.

For example, the 2014 Dark Mofo festival featured the Grimore event, held at the The Brisbane hotel and run as an externally managed umbrella event to central festival programing. At this venue, Tasmanian street artists Tom O'Hern and Brain Foetus (artist's pseudonym) had their distinctive paste-ups featured on the interior walls of the hotel (alongside several other artists who work within a more conventional installation-based studio practice). At the invitation of the organisers, O'Hern and Brain Foetus moved their outdoor temporary practice into an indoor bar setting for the event. Work by these two artists was also featured throughout the Odeon site at the 2015 Faux Mo at the invitation of Hobart muralists Jamin and Aedan Howlett (artists for the Moo Brew laneway party). O'Hern's irreverent illustrations were drawn directly onto the walls in the warren of corridors and backrooms where patrons explored, and his animations were used as visual backdrop for several performances on the main stage. He explained, 'they asked me to, and they said "you should just draw everywhere" because it's what I've been doing at all the MONA FOMA's anyway, and I had a password in case I got in trouble! But it's just what I always do anyway at those things!' (O'Hern, interview, 2015).

O'Hern frequently employs local iconography (e.g. a Tasmanian tiger, map of Tasmania, profile of Mt Wellington) in his work, and explained how experience of place informs his content and is significant to his practice (O'Hern, interview, 2015). His work is pasted on surfaces all over Hobart, as well as sold at the commercial Bett Gallery in North Hobart. When Mona opened, the museum purchased a piece of his for $3000, and O'Hern explained 'I hadn't sold anything before really, I think I'd sold maybe one or two things for like, a hundred bucks' (O'Hern, interview, 2015).

At MONA FOMA in 2013, DJs performed in the laneways of the city outside the Centrepoint Arcade, playing high up on scaffolding against a backdrop of dense graffiti tags and artworks. The link between street art and the Mona festivals reinforces the 'urban' context of the festival (Mona, 2013: 18) and endorses the work of local artists. It also highlights the ongoing negotiation of city activation verses council protocol and policy, as graffiti and street art are illegal in public places. McGaw's research into the relationship between street artists and Melbourne authorities found the system functions on a precarious balance between simultaneous negotiation of legislation against graffiti and government tourism promoting the vibrant laneways of the city (McGaw, 2008).

This negotiation of council policy is a frequent barrier to creative and experimental pursuits in both Australian and international contexts. In Berlin, the poster city of countercultural entrepreneurialism and city activation, the famous 'squat-cum-cultural centre' Tacheles site was 'facing eviction at the same time as its picturesque derelict warehouse facade appeared in official brochures promoting Berlin's subcultural diversity' (Lanz, 2013: 1313). O'Hern's commission from Mona to illustrate the Odeon venue demonstrates this confrontation between arts activation and regulatory policy. He described how his work was defaced by council:

> I painted a tiger on the side of that building, and they fucking painted over it. And it was commissioned!...and the way they painted over it was just so obscene! It was like, defacing. And then they had gone all through that area and gotten rid of my shit… And then they were being real intimidating, because the council crew were around that area all day. Man, I was just trying to do my job. (O'Hern, interview, 2015).

In response, O'Hern posted an illustration called 'Bloody Council' to his blog.

Image 22: *Bloody Council* by Tom O'Hern. (Tom O'Hern, 2015.)

Two months after the 2015 MONA FOMA, the City of Hobart 'declared war on graffiti' (Howard, 2015) and established a graffiti taskforce and management plan (CoH, 2015d) to combat tagging and defacing of property in the CBD. The complex relationship the City of Hobart have – of both promoting and banning graffiti - was evident in my interview with O'Hern, who became concerned that his 'Bloody Council' image was publicly accessible via his website. He felt conflicted, as he had applied for a public art grant with the City of Hobart to complete a commissioned mural in Mathers Place at the same time as having his non-commissioned art removed from public spaces. The grant for the mural was awarded in 2016.

Image 23: Mathers Lane by Tom O'Hern, installation shot. (Raabus, 2016).

This dual promotion of and declaration of war against graffiti was also highlighted at the 2015 Moo Brew Party in the Lane. Despite their 'crackdown' on graffiti, the council explicitly encouraged and endorsed the work of two street artists during the laneway event.

In a wider Hobart context, there has been an increasing number of hotels, bars and restaurants commissioning 'street artists' to enliven their interior walls. Vita, The Alabama, Frank, Ti Ama and Rude Boy all promote Hobart artists as a feature of their interior design. The Mona Roma ferry also showcases the graffiti work of Tom O'Hern, Rob O'Connor and Jamin, who utilise the boat as a canvas to critique Mona, where the artists have written 'it's a mona-opoly' across their work.

Graffiti and street art represent a small element of cultural activity which is being utilised to promote the livability and vibrancy of Hobart, and graffiti artists used Hobart's walls as canvases long before the arrival of Mona. The intersection of street art, Mona festivals and council regulations is illustrative of the tensions which exist in balancing the promotion of city activity with the legislations of the city. I argue that part of Mona and Dark Mofo's impacts have been to highlight these tensions, in the delivery of festivals and in relation to cultural activity in the city more broadly. Mona festival activity has brought these difficulties to the surface, and stimulated discussion and reappraisal of how to best deliver festivals, city parties, and public spaces which reflect the vibrancy of Hobart.

8.5 Grassroots Music

Grassroots activity which is interconnected with, but not directly contingent on Mona and Dark Mofo's arrival is also evident in the local music scene. The narrative of the Mona Effect is writ large in music journalism (e.g. Teague, 2015; Fitzgerald, 2016; Ingles, 2016), with Levin (2013, n.p.) writing that MONA FOMA was the 'festival that's changing a city' (2013). In interviews with three Tasmanian musicians who have all performed as part of MONA FOMA or Dark Mofo, the impact of Mona on the local music community was recognised, but not understood as recalibrating or dramatically altering the landscape. The primary themes which emerged from these interviews were the closely connected music scene in the city, the opportunities that associations with the Mona brand provided, and capitalising on tourist crowds surrounding festival periods.

Tasmanian musician and graphic artist Josh Santospirito was part of the 2016 summer MONA FOMA program in a live performance of his graphic novel 'The Long Weekend in Alice Springs', [84] which he described as providing an enhanced level of exposure:

> more people hear about it, and also a different audience sees it at MONA FOMA, because more interstaters buy tickets, yeah, you just have access to a completely different audience…if I play gigs in the Brisbane Hotel or the Grand Poohbar [local music venues] there will be like, just the other performers in the audience! But the second you stick it on MONA FOMA, you get an enormous crowd…people actually take you kind of seriously, just because someone curated you, or you are associated with Mona. (Santospirito, interview, 2015).

[84] Santospirito was also part of the 2010, 2012 and 2014 festivals in other projects and performance. He described 'in 2012, I was a chorus boy in IHOS theatre's The Barbarians, which was fun, and was half naked with bits of meat hung around my neck with blood smeared all over me. It was very very amazing!' (Santospirito, interview 2015).

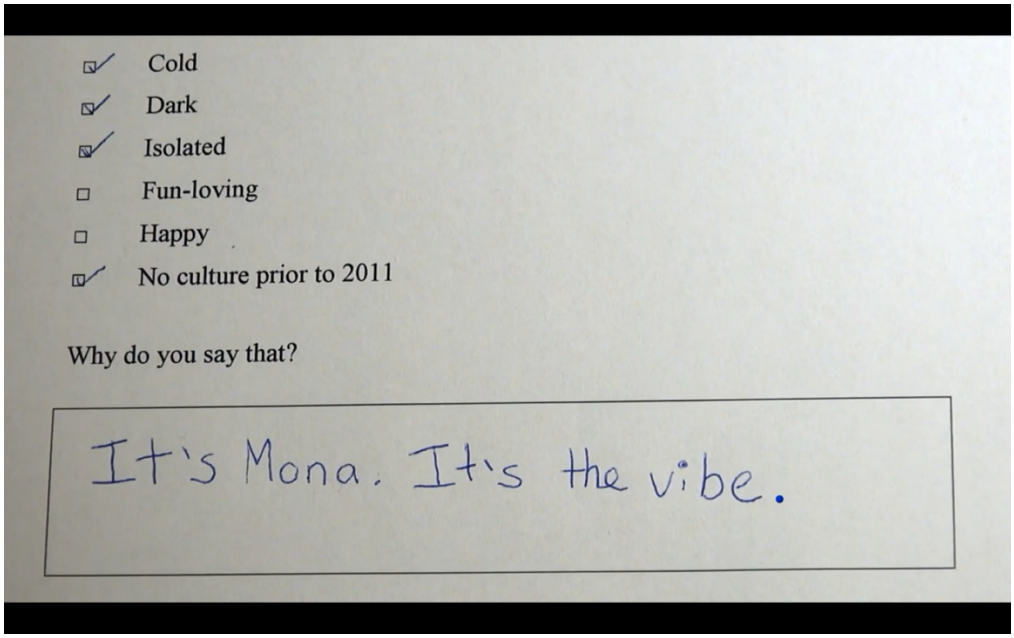

Image 24: Still shot from music video for the song 'Holiday' by Tasmanian band, Heart Beach. (Heart Beach, 2015).

Adam Outson, whose band All Fires played at Mona Foma in 2010, had an album launch in the Void Bar at the museum and performed as part of the Origins of Art exhibition opening weekend in 2016. He similarly explained:

> …it was a great opportunity to play to an audience that you haven't played to before. Coming from Hobart, you end up playing at the same places to the same people if you play for long enough. You know, after a year, you are kind of done in terms of new faces and this kind of thing, So yeah the festival was a way to play to thousands of people who had not seen us, and probably because of the type of festival that it is, people are willing to give things a go! (Ouston, interview, 2016).

However, Ouston recognised that while Mona provided immense exposure, this did not lead to ongoing career prospects for local bands or invitations to international festivals. This sentiment was echoed by a recipient of the Mona visual arts scholarship, who recognised the high quality lineage of artists who had been awarded the scholarship before him, but was aware that despite national and international exposure, no recipients' 'careers had exploded' (L. James, interview, 2015a).

In a similar fashion to the Paint the Town Red campaign (see Chapter Seven), local venues capitalised on an engaged interstate audience in the Dark Mofo festival periods, and

held non-affiliated concerts, performances and events during these times (eg The Brisbane Hotel, The Arts Factory). The potential of capitalising on a Dark Mofo audience was also identified by non-music festivals, as Josh Santospirito described 'piggy-backing' on the 'Dark Mofo crowd flooding Tasmania' in deciding the timing for his graphic festival (Santospirito, interview, 2015).

Additionally, all three interviewed musicians highlighted the opportunities to see international bands and musicians who would likely never make it to Australia 'let alone Hobart' (Santospirito, interview, 2015) if not for Mona. This access to international and experimental arts practices was a key objective in the Darkest Night business plan. The festival intentions were to 'to enrich and vitalise Tasmania's artistic life through involvement with and exposure to outstanding music and art rarely available in Tasmania' (Mona, 2012: 11). This exposure was recognised by Elliot Taylor, who works in a front-of-house position at Mona to support his music career, and whose band performed at Dark Mofo in 2015. He explained, 'I've got a lot to thank them for, a lot of musical exposure' (Taylor, interview, 2015). While Hobart provides Taylor and his band an affordable city to live in, Dark Mofo 'adds to credibility' and is a festival which 'gets recognised nationally now' (Taylor, interview, 2015).

Conclusion

Comunian's (2011) work on networks in the creative city found that effective approaches must 'bridge the gap between top-down investment in the cultural infrastructure of the city, with a grounded understanding of the emergent structures arising from actors and agencies working in the sector' (2011: 1174). In the context of Hobart, bottom-up and top-down enterprises interact on multiple levels, and are tightly connected in a complex web of personal connections, social interrelations, professional influences and strategic formal alignments. The ongoing making and re-making of the local grassroots culture scene assists in highlighting the risk of a monoculture (or mona-opoly) developing, and reinstates the strong tradition of independent cultural practice which preceded the 'cultural revolution' in the state (Discover Tasmania, 2015). In allowing places to perform 'a compendium of intersubjective and cultural interpretations over time' (Shields, 1991: 205), transfunctionalism is enabled and a more vibrant and rich cultural economy can evolve.

This section has demonstrated how relationships between Mona and local grassroots initiatives are multi-layered, and part of complex cultural and personal politics. There are

formal agreements through umbrella programming, shared physical sites and project collaborations, personal connections through friendships and professional networks, and shared audiences. Grassroots artist-run spaces and events have traditionally sat 'on the margins' of city activity, which, following Shields' contention, would imply an 'exclusion from "the centre"' (1991: 276). However, a binary understanding of margins as 'signifiers of everything "centres" deny or repress' and 'the condition of possibility of all cultural entities' (Shields, 1991: 276) becomes confused in the context of Hobart, where grassroots, government policy, and private Mona enterprise become entangled in the densely woven cultural economy. The following chapter re-introduces governmental and policy-based planning and culture-led urban regeneration initiatives in the waterfront precinct, which interact with and impact upon, the grassroots interventions and activities outlined here.

Chapter Nine: Dark Park and Macquarie Point

This chapter establishes Mona's role in enlivening the waterfront precinct of Hobart through the Dark Mofo festivals, with a particular focus on the 2015 Dark Park project. Following on from Chapter Five, where I established how Macquarie Point fortuitously emerged as a festival precinct, here I discuss how Dark Mofo provided a soft launch opportunity for the Macquarie Point Development Corporation's (MPDC) Strategic Framework and Master Plan (MPDC, 2015a).

The chapter initially explores how collaborative artworks from Dark Park created public engagement with the Macquarie Point site. I then demonstrate how this enthusiasm was subsequently leveraged to attract investors for development projects at Macquarie Point, and to secure recurrent Dark Mofo funding from the state government. This section builds upon previous analysis of Dark Mofo's role in stimulating public spaces and generating engagement with the city.

The second half of this chapter examines how the framing of Mona as a key tourism and economic driver has justified and rationalised economic growth models and infrastructure development (Tourism Tasmania, 2010) for both Macquarie Point and broader hotel and tourism initiatives in Hobart. I situate the Dark Mofo festivals within an analysis of tourism-focused policy-making and capital project developments in the city, and re-introduce the Mona Effect narrative into an international 'urban development script' (Peck, 2005: 740). I examine to what extent Mona's impact aligns with Klunzman's (2004) description of culture-led urban development, where 'each story of regeneration begins with poetry and ends with real estate' (2004: 2). The focus on Macquarie Point allows an examination of Mona's role in generating public engagement with the waterfront, and a direct Mona Effect analysis regarding MPCD's master plan, public space initiatives, and transformation on site.

9.1 Mona and Macquarie Point

As outlined in Chapter Five, both Mona and Dark Mofo have been promoted by government as private enterprises with the capacity to mobilise tourism and create economic growth and investment opportunities. The 2014 Dark Mofo acquittal report explained that in showcasing Hobart's CBD and waterside precinct, the festival is designed to make the city a key destination for visitors from interstate and overseas (Dark Mofo, 2014).

Mona's involvement with the Macquarie Point site was established in Chapter Five as a fortuitous event born from an impromptu conversation and informal social networks. This collaboration evolved into the Dark Park precinct in 2015, which was strategically utilised to test-run the feasibility of large-scale events at a site which had previously been underutilised. Dark Park facilitated the first public opening of the site in decades (Smith, 2015a), and (then) MPDC CEO Liz Jack explained 'we want to get as many people as we can down here so they can experience the site in its raw form' (quoted is Smith, 2015a: n.p.). She explained that Dark Park was used as a test run or 'guinea pig' for large-scale events, and met the 'objectives of getting the public back on the site' (quoted in Peck, 2015: n.p). The MPDC was enthusiastic about generating public engagement with the site over the course of the festival, as 'it's a site that belongs to the people of Hobart and the people of Tasmania, so for them to have that sense of ownership and engagement they need to get on here and see it and understand it' (quoted in Peck, 2015: n.p).

Public engagement with the Macquarie Point site was recommended in the Gehl Report (Gehl, 2010) in order to 'develop ideas for the temporary use of the Hobart Railyards at [the] Macquarie Point Area until further development can be put in place' (2010: 79). Between 2010 and 2015 this proposal was not enacted, and the site remained inaccessible to the public. Dark Mofo was thus well placed to take advantage of the undeveloped brownfield site, while also developing the social and community capital of the area.

The 76 000 public attendances at Dark Park in 2015 (fieldwork, 2015) demonstrates the impact of this collaborative initiative, which leveraged public participation into awareness and engagement with the Macquarie Point site and MPDC. The soft launch of Macquarie Point was described in local media as 'throwing the light on the point site' (Peck, 2015: n.p.), and the Dark Mofo activity was aligned with the release of the MPDC's Strategic Framework and Master Plan (MPDC, 2015a).

The Master Plan (MPDC, 2015a) was displayed onsite during the Dark Mofo period, and resulted in an 'estimated 4 500 people visiting the display' (MPDC, 2015b: n.p.)[85] and the corporation was 'thrilled to see so many people engaging with the site and taking ownership of the space' (MPDC, 2015b: n.p.). This public enthusiasm demonstrates the alignment of Dark Mofo's popularity with the MPDC's vision to develop a 'vibrant and

[85] In addition to this public engagement with the physical plan while onsite, MPDC report there were 3289 active online engagements with the Master Plan during the festival, and a further 4156 non-interactive views (MPDC, 2015b: 21).

active area, with a mix of uses, that connects with and complements adjacent areas within Hobart' (MPDC, 2012: 4).

The popularity of the event created activity at Macquarie Point, media opportunities, cultural relevance and social currency in the public imagination. Dark Park was recognised by local media as facilitating public engagement with the site through physical experience and spectacle, and 'in doing so the crowds have taken ownership of the space The result is that this incredibly valuable site is the people's space, and it is clear that whatever development is sited there must be primarily about the people' (Editorial, 2015: n.p). An editorial from the local newspaper described Dark Mofo's use of the site as a 'masterstroke' (Editorial, 2015: n.p) in connecting the social and cultural value of the site with Mona's role in generating public enthusiasm and emotional connection to the previously socially and spatially estranged space.

Quinn (2005) demonstrates how festivals present the opportunity to 'enable the residents to create a new vision, a way of looking at the place from another point of view' (2005: 939). Dark Mofo provided a focused event for Hobart residents (as well as visitors and future investors) to observe and experience Macquarie Point through a new lens and way of seeing. Following Davies' contention that urban events can act as a 'trigger' for reconsidering city spaces (quoted in Joye, 2014: 26), Dark Park can be seen as operating as this trigger for re-imagining the social and economic value of the waterfront area.

This concept of festival as stimulator connects with David Walsh and Mark Fraser's initial 2007 objectives for Mona. Walsh outlined a subsidiary aim of the museum was to 'put a rocket up public collections/generate Government interest in community-driven projects with possible funding outcomes…' (as quoted in Franklin, 2014: 221). While seemingly an unexpected and unforeseeable development, the Dark Park project can be seen as loosely embedded in the original museum objectives to engage with the public and excite government funding.

9.1.1 Dark Sites

Dark Mofo's engagement with Macquarie Point is consistent with the organisation's established precedent of housing cultural activity in disused sites. Carmichael was enthusiastic about the Macquarie Point site and its relevance to the festival brand: '[is] industrial and we love that sort of aesthetic. We have been playing in unused spaces right back to when MONA FOMA was conceived' (Carmichael, as quoted in Smith, 2015a: n.p.).

Engagement with non-conventional performance venues is consistent with the Dark Mofo branding. Since 2013, venue sites have included 'an old underground Battery, disused industrial park, a 1950's motel and even travelled three hours to the centre of Tasmania for Dark Mofo's Wild at Heart event at Cradle Mountain' (Carmichael, as quoted in Red Bull, 2016: n.p).

Utilising interstitial waterfront spaces is also an established practice in contemporary urban renewal (Marshall and Marshall, 2014: 4) as a means to revitalise underused areas. Shields (1991) and Edensor (2007) argue that the marginal spatial qualities of waterfront sites encourages experimental practices, as these areas 'serve as spatial resources for doing things differently outside the ordinary, regulated space of the city' (Edensor, 2007: 235). Franklin (2014) has established the experimental philosophy of Mona, and this was also recognised by the MPDC as it referenced the 'dark, twisted and confronting' aesthetic of the museum (MPDC, 2015c: n.p).

The use of industrial and post-industrial buildings also highlights the connection between sites that Mona festivals have temporarily populated with activity and the subsequent demolition of these spaces. In the waterfront precinct, Macquarie Shed 1 housed *Beam in Thine Own Eye* exhibition (Dark Mofo, 2013a), before being dismantled in 2014 to make way for the MACq01 Hotel.[86] The Saloon - site of the 2015 summer MONA FOMA Faux Mo after party (and Electrona festival site) - was also demolished. Additionally, the 2016 and 2017 location for the summer Faux Mo nightclub, 10 Murray Street, has been earmarked for demolition in early 2018 to make way for a Marriott Hotel, shops and cafes (Richards, 2017).[87] These nightclub events inspire transgressive atmospheres through performances and participatory spaces - including strip teases, cross dressing, nudity, yoga classes, laser beams, pillow fights, hidden rooms, mystery bus tours, tunnels and slides (fieldwork, 2014, 2015, 2016) - and are therefore suited for interstitial and liminal spaces. These post-industrial sites provide architecturally intriguing canvases for cultural activity, but are also prime locations for development, renovation and renewal (see Zukin, 1982). The

[86] MACq01 was designed by Tasmanian architecture firm Circa Morris Nunn, who are linked to Mona as the designers of the 2014 Dark Mofo project the Art Tower, alongside Rafael Lozano-Hemmer, in addition to the Mona Ferry Terminal as part of the Brooke Street Pier. Furthermore, MACq01 is owned by the Federal Group, which are currently in conversation with the state government and Mona in relation to the upcoming expiry of Federal Group's state-wide monopoly on gambling licences. This monopoly is being questioned by Walsh, who wishes to develop a high-rollers' casino as part of his Mona upgrade and extensions. For a full analysis of the relationship between Federal Group, Tourism Tasmania, state government and Mona, see Boyce, 2017.

[87] This site was recognised as an important example of brutalist architecture, and was the subject of a long running campaign to protect it (Richards, 2017).

connection between Mona activity and demolition is not causational, but demonstrates how sites with low economic worth can be transformed into spaces of economic investment through cultural and social activity.

Gobel's (2015) research into the re-use of urban ruins found that 'the built environment could not be conceived as a framework without the events (in the sense of the 'social' constructed happenings and movements) that attach to it' (2015: 172). This new materialist reading resonates with Dark Mofo's adaptive use of urban spaces, which are temporarily transformed by the activities produced within them and the public participation performed in these sites. The transformative power of the festivals - where the question 'are we still in Hobart?' is raised (Hortle, 2013) - often occurs without spatial alterations to the city, but rather through changing engagement with, and use of, the sites.

The availability of temporary underused spaces for Dark Mofo (and other cultural bodies and events) provides the potential for innovation, but it is a situation born of necessity due to both financial and spatial barriers. As Jacobs argues, experimental and risky ideas often originate from fringe locations:

> [F]or really new ideas of any kind - no matter how ultimately profitable or otherwise successful some of them might prove to be - there is no leeway for such chancy trial, error and experimentation in the high-overhead economy of new construction. Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings (1961: 245).

Mona's city interventions have been primarily achieved in dis- or under-used urban spaces, and the Dark Mofo festivals have been lauded for their audacity, innovation, and transformative approaches to unoccupied sites in the city (Robinson, 2015; Singh, 2015). In 2015 Dark Mofo was commended at the Sidney Myer Performing Arts Awards for turning 'the very notion of what an Australian arts festival can be on its head' (Myer, 2016: n.p.). In contrast to this celebrated innovation, the MPDC's original plan for the development of new buildings draws upon established ideas of urban regeneration and tourism (cultural regeneration academic Charles Landry is cited by the MPDC [MPDC, 2015f: 21]).

In the case of MPDC, I argue that Dark Mofo's innovation has been applied to a development project where 'the script of urban creativity reworks and augments the old methods and arguments of urban entrepreneurialism in politically seductive ways' (Peck, 2005: 766). This is not to suggest that the 'new ideas' of Dark Mofo are successful in having

an exclusively causative effect of being housed in temporary or unwanted spaces. Rather, it highlights how the innovation of Dark Mofo has been translated into subsequent development in which new building are erected to house old ideas regarding culture-led urban regeneration.

9.1.2 DarkLab

In addition to Mona's collaborations with external development bodies (such as the MPDC), in 2016 Dark Mofo underwent a restructure and expansion of its core business. In October of that year, it was announced that Leigh Carmichael would leave the Mona Communications team to establish a new enterprise called DarkLab. This new arm of Mona is responsible for the delivery of Dark Mofo, and also incorporates new infrastructural and urban renewal projects across the city, including the Mona master plan for Macquarie Point (described below). Carmichael described how DarkLab was inspired by the Eden Project in Cornwall (which has been used as a reference point for Macquarie Point) and the 'great social impact it was having' (Carmichael, quoted in Ouston, 2017: n.p.).

In May 2017 it was announced that Dark Lab would oversee the development of The Odeon into a 'Mona city arts mecca' (Crawley, 2017: n.p.). The Odeon is a performance venue which was purchased by Melbourne-based development group Riverlee in 2011. It has previously been leased by Mona for MONA FOMA, Dark Mofo, and various music events throughout the year. Plans for this new development (currently under review by the City of Hobart) see the space undergo significant alterations, including potential demolition, although Riverlee are working with DarkLab on a Memorandum of Understanding to keep the iconic Odeon building intact (Young, 2017). The project proposal includes music venues, art-house cinemas, bars, 'a premium boutique retail lane', gallery spaces, residential apartments and a 'DarkLab branded hotel' (Young, 2017: n.p.).

Carmichael described the rationale behind the inner city development as, 'if Hobart is to become one of the world's best vibrant cultural cities, these types of projects are essential' (quoted in Young, 2017: n.p.). This project will be Mona's first private development in the city, as the Art Tower proposed in conjunction with Detached as part of Dark Mofo 2015 has not yet reached development application phase.

9.2 MPDC Master Plan

The original MPDC Master Plan (2015a) was an aspirational document, outlining the eight 'Key Drivers' guiding the development of the site.[88] Titled *Old Territory from New Ground*, the Master Plan was a collaboration between architecture, landscape architecture and urban planning firms,[89] and the document maps out a broad overview of the site's proposed development. The Master Plan includes endorsements from the (then) Minister of State Growth Matthew Groom, and MPDC Chair Mark Ryan, who largely focus on the economic impact of the development, introducing the site as a 'vibrant, liveable and sustainable place' (in MPDC 2015a: 2). As part of an anticipated $1 billion project, the MPDC was granted $45 million from Infrastructure Australia to remediate the land (Benuik, 2015). In December 2015, an Expression of Interest process was opened up to potential investors, which framed the project by first introducing the waterfront as a cultural precinct. It situated the Macquarie Point site as adjacent to the 'famous Hobart docks and waterfront, recognised across the world as the finish to the Sydney to Hobart yacht race and *home to an array of unique festivals such as Dark Mofo, the Australian Wooden Boat Festival and the Taste of Tasmania'* (MPRC, 2015d: 4, emphasis added).

The Master Plan cited 'Place and Community'[90] as one of the eight objectives of the strategic framework (MPDC, 2015a: 34). In this regard, the plan connects with ICAP's (Wilkie, 2010) emphasis on public space, and Gehl's recommendations for community access to the waterfront: 'Given the extraordinary location of [the] Hobart Railyards, the waterfront should be celebrated by an urban formulated public space relating to its highly urban situation' (Wilkie, 2010: 74). Open space occupies approximately 40% of the site in the plan (MPDC, 2015a), which fulfils the ICAP recommendations for a mixed use site with full public access along the waterfront (Wilkie, 2010).

However, the MPDC Master Plan frames 'Place and Community' within a predominately functionalist framework, where city liveability is promoted for its ability to generate a robust economy of growth and innovation: 'sustainable economic development is essential to creating liveable communities. In turn, liveable communities attract and retain

[88] These drivers are 1. Re-engaging History, 2. Water to Water Promenade, 3. City to Point and Beyond, 4. Shared Streets and Strands of Program, 5. A Vital City Quarter, 6. Silhouette, 7. Fertile Ground, 8. Mobility Policy.

[89] The Master Plan was designed by John Wardle Architects (Vic), 1+2 Architecture (Tas), Taylor Cullity Leathlean (Vic), Inspiring Place (Tas), Village Well (Vic), Leigh Woolley Architecture & Urban Design (Tas) and Navire (Vic).

[90] Although this is listed as 'people and community' in the contents of the document (p.1) which offers an alternative emphasis (MPDC, 2015a: 1).

highly skilled, productive and creative people who drive innovation and economic growth' (MPDC, 2015a: 35). This focus on economic advancement is later reiterated, where

> research has found that creative industries will play a great role in contributing to the economic prosperity of our nation, and this contribution is thought to be growing at a faster rate than the broader economy. *Creative industries have the potential to contribute both in terms of output and employment* (MPDC, 2015a: 35, emphasis added).

In addition to acknowledging the economic potential of creative industries in Tasmania, the magnitude of Mona's presence in the state is specifically highlighted multiple times in the document, both as a driver of Hobart's profile as 'an international destination for the arts' (MPDC, 2015a: 34) and in citing Mona as the second highest tourism attraction (MPDC, 2015a: 35).

A public consultation undertaken by the MPDC in 2013 garnered multiple responses referencing Mona, where participants acknowledged the 'value Macquarie Point could have in continuing to build upon the reputation of Mona' (MPDC, 2013: 16). One participant responded that Macquarie Point should 'continue to build upon the exciting city that Mona has started' (MPDC, 2013: 16). These public comments assisted in shaping the 'Shared Vision' document (MPDC, 2014) and subsequent Master Plan (MPDC, 2015a). Section 9.6 below explores how Mona and Dark Mofo have been used not only to justify the development of Macquarie Point, but have also been employed within economic modelling to advocate for hotel development and large-scale capital projects in the city.

9.3 The Mona Affect

This chapter has thus far demonstrated how public engagement with Dark Park assisted in cultivating public enthusiasm for the Macquarie Point site. Here I expand upon how this was achieved and argue that the affective nature of the artworks and events in the 2015 festival, which engaged directly with the space, required community participation and generated social effervescence and a sense of communitas. This community engagement was particularly evident in the Ogoh Ogoh events, which brought thousands of participants to the site.

Ogoh Ogoh are mythical Indonesian creatures, and in 2015 sculptures of these characters were installed within the Dark Park precinct. In addition to traditional Indonesian characters, local artists worked with Balinese artists to create endemic Tasmanian creatures, including the Spotted Handfish (2015) and Tasmanian Tiger (2016). Over the course of Dark Mofo, the public were invited to Dark Park to write down a fear and then 'feed' it to the Ogoh Ogoh. On the final day of the winter festival, the creatures were carried by the public (invited through an open call in the Dark Mofo program, as well as through both UTAS and Mona social media platforms) to the Winter Feast in a parade of approximately 8000 along the waterfront, before being ignited and incinerated as part of a cathartic cleansing ceremony, which incorporated a performance from a local dance school.[91]

Image 25: Burning of the Ogoh Ogoh outside Dark Park. Photo: Luke Bowden. (Young and Hope, 2016).

The project was initially pitched to Dark Mofo by John Vella, Head of Discipline (Art) at UTAS, and co-produced by the university's Asian Languages Institute staff and students. It connected UTAS, Macquarie Point and Mona though collaborative linkages and involved an exchange with Balinese artists, who worked with students at the Hunter Street Art School to construct the Ogoh Ogoh over several weeks. While Carmichael was 'skeptical' about whether to undertake the project, it became a key feature of the festival, particularly in regard to public engagement, and 'far exceeded all my expectations' (Carmichael, interview, 2015). Carmichael described,

[91] By 2017, participant numbers in the parade were estimated at 11 000 (pers comm., Dark Mofo marketing, 2017).

> The Ogoh Ogohs turned up and turned out to be great…It was this unifying moment for the city, and we had come up with another ritual. A real ritual that had meaning and strength. And it was like, we have the Feast, we have the Nude Swim, and now I think we have the Burning. Yeah, I absolutely loved it! These things, they often don't start the way you imagined, and they don't end the way you imagined it might (interview, 2015).

The burning was initially programmed for the opening of the festival without the prior display period of the sculptures at Macquarie Point or public engagement and participation of writing down secrets. However, head of Dark Mofo programming Lucy Forge described how 'all these things kept falling into place' (Forge, interview, 2015), and the parade and cathartic burning marked the completion of the festival. Carmichael explained how the spiritual and cultural significance of Ogoh Ogoh in Indonesia translated to the Tasmanian setting and created a new myth for the city of Hobart (interview, 2015). The event has since become a recurring element of the festival, sitting alongside the Winter Feast and Nude Swim as key and definitive elements of Dark Mofo.

Marchant and Edmonds (2015) highlight the affective success of Dark Mofo in celebrating the 'transitional movements and transformations of the universe and of humanity' through ritual. Visually, fire created a branding narrative across multiple festival locations and events including the Dark Park site, Winter Feast and Huon Valley Mid-Winter Festival. The evolution of the project was described by Lucy Forge, who observed

> in retrospect, just looking back on that moment and the energy that it created to close the festival, to have this space of gathering community and a moment of quiet reflection as well, and this very beautiful, visceral visual representation of cleansing and moving on, and embracing this very specific solstice thing that we're building this festival to actually celebrate and engage with, I think that was hugely successful in achieving that… (Forge, interview, 2015).

The collaborative nature of the Ogoh Ogoh event was recognised as integral to its success, where the partnership allowed Dark Mofo to 'create something that we couldn't do on our own, and those people couldn't do on their own. And so it actually creates something really quite special that is uniquely Dark Mofo as well' (Forge, interview, 2015). These collaborations function at a managerial, conceptual and operational level, but the Ogoh Ogoh

project also created community collaboration and required public participation to generate the content. In addition to the public writing their fears and creating the performative parade and burning, the Art School collaborated with seventy Year 10 students who assisted with the Ogoh Ogoh project. John Vella stated, 'some of the feedback we got from those students was that it was some of the best experiences they have had in their life!' (Vella, interview, 2015).

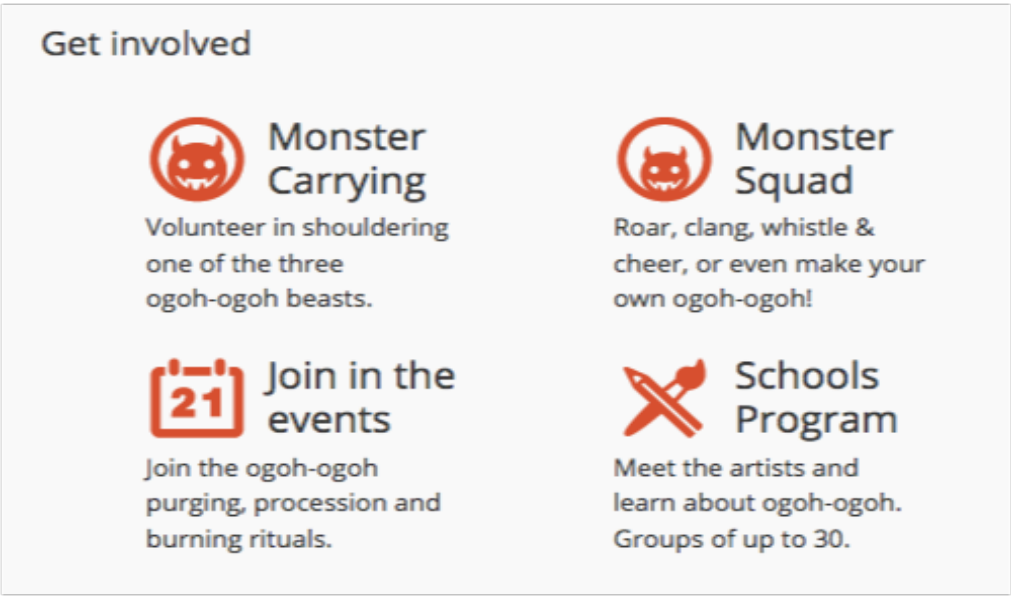

Image 26: UTAS website outlining the different means of public participation in the Ogoh-Ogoh project. (UTAS, 2016).

The Ogoh Ogoh at Dark Park can be read through a theoretical lens as assisting to create a site of 'social creativity and change' through affective experience (Olaveson, 2001: 90). Olaveson describes Turner's theory of the liminal stage of ritual, where communitas has the opportunity and space to develop. Comparably, Durkheim understood ritual as the 'act by which society makes itself, and remakes itself, periodically' (Olaveson, 2001: 94). Following this approach, the identity of Macquarie Point and the waterfront more generally (and the public's role in generating this identity) is both made and remade through ritual and active social engagement as part of Dark Mofo.

Franklin has similarly demonstrated connections between the Mona brand, the carnivalesque and ritual (2014: 264-274), drawing upon Bahktin's concept of 'time out of time' (1984). I contend that for Dark Park in particular, 'new myths' (Olaveson, 2001: 110) are formed through public engagement with the artworks onsite, and 'new ideas' have directly generated a collaboration between MPDC and Mona for the future of the waterfront

development. As Quinn (2005) argues, ‘major events are seen as being particularly effective in that they ally tourism objectives with urban planning’ and this alignment is simultaneously ‘providing a means through which political and urban elites can refashion collective feelings of identity, emotion and consciousness’ (Quinn, 2005: 931).

The Ogoh Ogoh procession and burning also resonates with Benjamin’s (1970) theory of the ‘author as producer, and citizen as co-author’, which Miles re-conceptualises to ‘express the idea of the dweller as co-producer of urban spaces’ (2005: 902). The artworks at Dark Mofo co-produce the space by generating an engaged public for the brownfield waterfront site and a new narrative for Macquarie Point, which is based on both the personal affective experience and the communal event. These narratives are subsequently reimagined to become recognised in policy and practice. I argue that Dark Park follows Olaveson’s contention that ‘innovation takes place in liminal and liminoid phenomena, and often exhibits the values of communitas, and then becomes legitimized in social structure’ (2001: 109).

In the Dark Mofo submission to state government for recurrent funding from 2016 to 2020, the festival referenced the Dark Park precinct as ‘the most evident’ example of community engagement, particularly citing the Ogoh Ogoh parade (Dark Mofo, 2015b: 18). Dark Mofo makes clear the role of the community as integral to the production of social space, new myths, local identity and the artworks themselves. Carmichael explained that ‘the community becomes participants rather than spectators, and that is really important’ (Carmichael, interview, 2015), demonstrating the reliance on the public in order to co-produce the festival.

Ranciere (2011) asserts that ‘emancipation begins when we challenge the opposition between viewing and acting’ (2011: 13), and this binary of spectator and actor is frequently blurred at Dark Mofo festivals, where ‘viewers’ are active producers in events. The Ogoh Ogoh events of the Purging (public writing down secrets) and Burning (parade and incineration) directly engaged with the audience in a co-productive manner, and are performed as part of an ‘assembled community’ (Ranciere, 2011: 15). These participatory events make use of the potential of festivals, whereas Quinn (2005) argues ‘too often contemporary urban arts festivals envisage only spectating roles for local residents and this strongly dilutes the cultural meanings that could be promulgated’ (2005: 940).

The success of the festivals in generating an active public was acknowledged by Forge, who explained,

> I think what makes it such a rewarding experience and festival to be a part of, just to walk around, is the local engagement and buy-in and participation on every level. But really on just the most basic level…walking along that waterfront and just seeing all of Hobart out and about and quite seduced by the whole thing, and willing to be seduced by the whole thing and willing to be open to it as well, because we do some weird shit! (interview, 2015).

The Ogoh Ogoh event encouraged an engaged and meaningful interaction with public participants and avoided what Jacobs (2013) describes as 'eventification', a 'staged experience of event consumption' (2013: 447) through the excited, engaged and meaningful public participation. However, the success of the Ogoh Ogoh event has subsequently been used to argue for public investment in Dark Mofo and private investment in the Macquarie Point site. 'Seducing' the city has become a feature of Mona festivals, and is now being employed by MPDC to 'seduce' investors to the site. As the public 'observes, selects, compares, [and] interprets' events (Ranciere, 2011: 15), social and community capital is developed at the Macquarie Point site, and platforms to attract economic capital are generated.

9.4 Mona and Public Space

In November 2015, it was announced that the MPDC would work with Mona's creative team to help 'shape public spaces in the waterfront development' (Price, 2015: n.p.). In a press release, the MPDC stated 'following the success of Dark Park as part of Dark Mofo in June this year, the parties have agreed to work together to explore other opportunities to contribute to the public's future experience of Macquarie Point' (MPDC, 2015e: n.p.). The museum and MPDC signed a statement of intent, outlining the scope of Mona's involvement to oversee the design of two major public spaces[92] for a contract worth $240 000. The statement of intent committed to developing the public open space on the site to:

- Engage all those who live, work and visit there
- Instil a sense of pride and ownership for the local community
- Offer an alternative experience of 'public realm' and

[92] The two sites are the Goods Shed Plaza and Park, and the former cold store site (which would function as the primary point of entry to the site for the public).

- Challenge conventional thinking and expectations (MPDC and Mona, 2015: n.p.).

The MPDC Annual Report 2014-2015 highlights the corporation's established interest in the public realm and place making through cultural projects. The MPDC subscribes to creative city methodologies, following the work of Charles Landry[93]:

> In November 2014, we were fortunate to have a visit from Charles Landry, author and international authority on maximising the potential of cities, who was in Hobart to present on the use of imagination and creativity in urban change. Charles helps cities identify and make the most of their resources and to reach their potential by triggering their inventiveness and thinking. His overall aim is to help cities become more prosperous, culturally confident, resilient and self-sustaining (MPDC, 2015f: 21).

These culture-led urban regeneration strategies are evident in the MPDC's Shared Vision, which elucidates the significance of arts and culture for the redevelopment as well as the need to 'build a sense of place' (MPDC, 2014: 12). The Shared Vision document, which preceded Dark Mofo's engagement with the Macquarie Point site, promoted a

> ...focus on the public realm and on engaging the community through activities such as farmers' markets, indoor and open-air venues and events, and small-scale, pop-up performance and community activities. *Hobart's event scene is growing, and components of successful events - such as Dark Mofo and the Festival of Voices - have the potential to be supported on the site* (Macquarie Point, 2014: 12, emphasis added).

The Vision statement also refers to Macquarie Point as being 'distinctly and authentically Tasmanian', exhibiting the state's 'natural drawcards of wine, food and produce' (MPDC, 2014: 13). This emphasis on locality and produce connects with Mona's established relationship to gastronomy (Chapter Six). Additionally, the Shared Vision statement situates Macquarie Point in relation to Hobart's rich pre-existing arts and cultural identity and participation levels, explaining 'careful thought will be given to the role

[93] The MPDC report states that the approaches of Landry are 'shared by the corporation' (MPDC, 2015: 21).

Macquarie Point can play in expanding the city's arts and cultural capabilities' (MPDC, 2014: 13,15)**.**

9.5 Iconic Planning

The partnership between Mona and MPDC was described by Carmichael as 'Hobart's opera house moment' (as quoted in Price, 2015: n.p.), which forms a neat synchronicity with the Bilbao Effect. The Opera House was regarded as a reference point for the Guggenheim Bilbao where: 'Bilbao was doing for the Basques what the Sydney Opera House has done for Australia' (Centre for Basque Studies, 2014). Macquarie Point is thus located by some in the literature of culture-led urban regeneration flagships, following the Sydney Opera House and Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, and resonating with international trends in waterfront development.

In June 2016, David Walsh, Leigh Carmichael and Mona's architect Nonda Katsalidis flew to London to research potential projects for the Macquarie Point site (Smith, 2016c). Carmichael stated

> we are committed to delivering ideas for public space based on the contract as it stands, but as we delve into this project, more possibilities are opening up…we understand the importance of this site to Hobart, and it's our intention to do everything we can to assist Macquarie Point realise its full potential (quoted in Smith, 2016c: n.p.).

Carmichael identified a lack of space in Hobart where 'people can gather for community style events' (quoted in Price, 2015: n.p) and saw Macquarie Point as presenting an opportunity to formally develop this type of civic space.

The preliminary brief provided to the Mona team was to find a 'novel and unconventional solution' (Price, 2015: n.p.). Concepts of the 'unconventional', the unusual and the boundary-breaking are frequently employed to describe Mona (Franklin, 2014), and is an identity the museum itself subscribes to through its branding activities. The directive for a 'novel and unconventional' approach also resonates with Durkheim and Turner's concepts of collective effervescence emerging 'outside of normal social life' (Olaveson, 2001: 110).

The phrase 'novel and unconventional solution' also constructs Macquarie Point as a dichotomous 'problem' in need of a specified solution. However, as discussed above, the

experience during Dark Mofo highlights that this is not a spatial concern but a socio-spatial experience. Without any permanent physical alterations to the site, the festival created enthusiasm, social engagement, and generated substantial attendance. The public enthusiasm garnered during the festival period also assisted to mitigating any potential negative image problems associated with development, and resonated with Miles' observation that art and architecture developments provide 'beauty' as a counter-balance to any image problems (1997: 107). MPDC's Liz Jack drew an explicit connection between Mona branding and Macquarie Point development, explaining that 'in addition, the Macquarie Point Development Corporation board was of the view that we should leverage off the Mona brand/artistic vision and that this was the appropriate way forward' (quoted in Smith, 2016d: n.p.).

9.5.1 Mona Master Plan

In December 2016, Mona announced a new Master Plan for the Macquarie Point site under the DarkLab arm of the organisation. This extended beyond the scope of their initial $240 000 brief for Macquarie Point. The DarkLab/Mona Plan reimagines the industrial area as a reconciliation park which celebrates and commemorates Tasmanian Aboriginal history. The concept for the site was initiated by Tasmanian scholar and descendant of the Trawulwuy people Greg Lehman, who proposed that Mona provide a public space that respects Aboriginal people and honours their culture (pers. comm., Greg Lehman, Jan 20 2017). David Walsh explained that 'Macquarie Point is the perfect time and place for a national memorial to begin to make amends for an unspeakable past' (as quoted in Shine, 2016: n.p.).

Although the original contract was for provision of creative designs to activate specified areas of the public realm at Macquarie Point, the concept for the new DarkLab Master Plan was met with enthusiasm from state government, with Premier Hodgman explaining 'Macquarie Point presents a once-in-a-generation opportunity for Hobart and Tasmania and we are determined to get it right' (Hodgman, 2016b: n.p.). The Premier also acknowledged a lack of community support for the initial MPDC plan, and suggested that 'what is being proposed by Mona is to give this whole development a notion of soul' (quoted in Clark, 2016: n.p.).

The DarkLab Master Plan (not yet released to the public in full) was designed by Fender Katsalidis Architects (responsible for Mona) and Rush Wright Associates. The

proposal extends beyond the Tas Port boundary lines of the original site plans, and has a projected budget of $2 billion and a thirty-year timeline to completion. The plan incorporates a reconciliation park, fire and light installations, light rail, Eden project[94], contemporary art gallery, Antarctic research precinct, 500 luxury hotel rooms, conference space with a capacity of 2500, produce market, music bowl with a capacity of 7000, and a Tasmanian Aboriginal history, living culture and education centre. The scope-creep of the plan also allows for an upgraded marina and ferry and cruise ship terminal and facilities. Following the public announcement of this Master Plan, the MPDC was instructed to adopt Mona's vision and prepare for a three-stage development process which sees public, commercial and accommodation spaces initially developed onsite.

In Chapter Two I established Mona's evolution as incompatible with the narrative of the Bilbao Effect. However, Mona's involvement in the Macquarie Point development provides significant points of comparison with a culture-led urban regeneration project model. The DarkLab Master Plan has been touted as a potential funding recipient from the Federal Government's 'City Deal' economic and infrastructure strategy (Clark, 2016), and a proposed light rail between Mona and Macquarie Point is under consideration by the Department of State Growth.

Leigh Carmichael reframed discussion of the mooted light rail project, 'from being a transport solution to being an urban renewal and urban regeneration project' (Carmichael, quoted in Lohberger, 2016b: n.p.). The Department of State Growth similarly highlighted the 'urban renewal and commercial opportunity' of the project, and noted the 'ability to connect the Hobart Waterfront with Mona, in particular, has significant support from councils' (Department of State Growth, 2016c: 4). The proposal, which aligns with Infrastructure Australia evaluation frameworks, also resonates with the sweeping infrastructure upgrades which were part of the Bilbao Metropoli-30 plan (1992). These significant urban

[94] Preceding the success of the 2016 Dark Mofo, which again utilised the site of the Macquarie Point development for the Dark Park precinct, the MPDC announced interested from Tim Smit of the Eden Project (Cornwall, UK) in developing an Antarctic-themed project (Clark, 2016). The plan received 'glowing endorsement' from the MPDC, and CEO Liz Jack described 'Eden Hobart' as a 'great chance for Macquarie Point to be a special development rather than a run-of-the-mill urban, retail, office, mixed-use style of development' (quoted in Clark, 2016). Jack proposed that the 'Eden Hobart project would complement the "Mona Effect" which had given the state a massive tourism boost and enhanced Tasmanians' view of themselves' (as quoted in Clark, 2016: n.p.). Jack's connections between the Eden Project and Mona's impact in the state are supported by the research findings of Blewitt (2004) and Wilks-Heeg and North (2004) regarding the Eden Project and regeneration. Wilks-Heeg and North cite a boost of £111 million expenditure and 5450 jobs as generated by the Smit-led project (2004: 306). Blewitt recognises that regeneration funding from the EU 'inform[s] the arc of Eden's educational activities and wider economic purpose' (2004: 175), and cites an estimated £430 million 'additional income to the Cornish economy' (2004: 178).

infrastructure interventions would dramatically alter the landscape of the city, and are explicitly tied to Mona's arrival, development, and growing presence in Hobart.

9.6 Investing in the Mona Effect

The transition from regeneration to gentrification is well established in academic literature, most famously outlined by Zukin (1989) and subsequently applied to specific Australian waterfront contexts by Dovey and Sandercock (2002), Oakley and Johnson (2011) and Birch (2005). In the case of Bilbao, land prices in the Abandoibarra area where the Guggenheim Museum is located increased in value 2.3 times in the four years after redevelopment of the precinct commenced (Swyngedouw et al., 2002: 568). International precedents of arts-led regeneration and subsequent gentrification offer a familiar 'script' (Peck, 2005: 740) against which to examine the impact of Mona on the waterfront. Here I demonstrate how festival activity has been leveraged by government and the private sector for commercial developments primarily aimed at stimulating the tourist economy. Rather than reading Mona as an intentional generator of development (as per the Bilbao case), this chapter establishes how Mona has been deployed by the MPDC as a key attractor for investors and mobilised to explain increase tourism numbers and justify hotel development.

In exploring the impact of Mona, it is important to acknowledge that ideas for developing Macquarie Point as a tourist location and cultural precinct existed before the museum's arrival. The potential to enliven Macquarie Point was highlighted in Jan Gehl's 2010 analysis of the city (Gehl, 2010), and research by Picken (2010) found the development of the boutique hotel Zero Davey along Hunter Street adjacent to the Macquarie Point site 'contributed to the performance of tourism development in a tourism place' (Picken, 2010: 246). Since then, the waterfront area has had the addition of the Henry Jones Art Hotel, further consolidating the local tourist presence and identity.

A study of Bilbao's strategic regeneration and subsequent urban developments found the Guggenheim has been popularised into a 'mechanism of social control granting civil approval for other projects' (Ceballos, 2004: 186). Ceballos argues this,

> does not mean that the Guggenheim is responsible for the rise of these processes but rather that the fact that the Guggenheim was built in Bilbao has created certain attitudes, and that citizens and city governors have learnt certain practices connected with the wider trends in urban policy… (2004: 186).

I argue that Ceballos' contention can be applied to an analysis of Mona and Dark Mofo's impact. The museum and festival are not 'the cause of these new practices' for waterfront developments, but the script of the Mona Effect has indirectly enabled other large-scale developments to be endorsed and facilitated through government and business practices (Ceballos, 2004: 179).

Ceballos' research on the Guggenheim Bilbao's impact on urban entrepreneurialism found that through a simplified 'shorthand' narrative of the Bilbao Effect, accounts of the development deny the importance of 'spatial, geographical and political context' (Ceballos, 2004: 182). Through the singular story arc, the complex and multiple processes which constituted Bilbao's development are unified into a rags to riches mythology. Ceballos asserts,

> In this vision, Bilbao is seen as a blank canvas into which new projects can be accommodated as they come along without having to take into account an overall strategy. Not considering projects in a complex and multi-faceted relationship with each other and with the existing urban fabric risks promoting a fragmented city… (2004: 182).

In this chapter I have already demonstrated Dark Mofo's impact on the socio-spatial developments in the city and waterfront, and here I examine city-based projects which ascribe to the 'multi-faceted relationship' described by Ceballos. In the case of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, the development created an environment where politicians were 'inebriated' by the museum's success, where the 'museum is not the cause of these new practices but has consolidated this trend in local policy-making mechanisms' (Ceballos, 2004: 179). In a Hobart context, the Mona Effect narrative has particularly been applied to hotel development in the city, which aligns with Tourism Tasmania's T21 Visitor Economy Strategy 2015-2020 that aims to increase visitation to the state to 1.5 million by 2020 (TICT and Tourism Tasmania, 2015).

9.6.1 Driving Demand

In an impact report presented by the MPDC in a development application to the City of Hobart, Mona is cited as a 'driver of demand to the region' (AEC, 2015:33). The report

refers to 'the arts, e.g. The Museum of Old and New Art' as a 'key appealing aspect of the south region' (AEC, 2015: 53) and part of a 'broad range of visitor attractions (AEC, 2015: 54). The role of Mona in gaining international attention is similarly highlighted in the MPDC Expression of Interest document for prospective developers: 'Mona (Museum of Old and New Art) in 2011 escalated the profile of Hobart as an international destination, while the city's year round calendar of arts and cultural festivals attracts not only locals but visitors from interstate and overseas' (MPDC, 2015f: 6). The 'profile of Hobart' is here inextricably connected to the Mona brand as a signifier of culture, economic growth and globally resonant identity.

The presentation of Mona and Dark Mofo in these documents transcends the 'festival as tourism attraction' approach (Quinn, 2005: 932) to employ both the museum and associated festivals as positive images for potential future investors, and uses the 'festival as image maker' (Quinn, 2005: 932). Lord Mayor Sue Hickey explained that as a result of the success of Mona's festivals, 'hopefully there'll be a bit more investment in the city as a result of this' and that 'it's a wonderful opportunity for people in the hotel industry to recognise the fact that we have a need for hotels and more hotel beds' (quoted in Gramenz, 2016: n.p.).

Invest Tasmania[95] refers to Mona as a part of the reason why 'there has never been a better time to invest in Tasmania' (Hodgman, quoted in Office of the Coordinator General, 2014: 3). The 'Invest in Tasmania' publication explains that the state offers:

> an active and thriving arts scene with strong participation rates. The state attracts national and international festivals, exhibitions and events and is home to many outstanding venues, including The Museum of Old and New Art (MONA), Australia's largest private museum and art gallery. MONA has received international acclaim and is a major tourist attraction (Office of the Coordinator General, 2014: 36).

Invest Tasmania creates clear links between economic investment and cultural attraction, and features Macquarie Point as a key project for the state to local and international potential investors through dual English and Mandarin promotional documents. The Foreign Investment Review Board (FIRB, 2016: 33) reported a growth in overseas

[95] Invest Tasmania is a branch of the Department of Economic Growth, which assists in facilitating 'investment opportunities and your future potential in Tasmania' (Invest Tasmania, 2015).

investment in Tasmania from $30 million (2013- 2014) to $1.06billion (2014-2015)[96], which has been partly attributed to the Mona Effect (Billings, 2016). The Macquarie Point Corporate Plan similarly highlights the international prestige of Hobart – citing the cities inclusion in the Lonely Planet Top Ten Regions (2015) and the 2014 visit to Tasmania by Chinese President Xi Jinping - and anticipates 'an influx of Chinese tourists and investment in Tasmania over the next five years. Macquarie Point offers opportunities for investors to gain long-term tenure in a secure market' (MPDC, 2015h: 11).

This relationship between investment and cultural branding highlights the multi-layered connections between Mona and the MPDC. It also establishes a framework beyond a direct Mona 'cause and effect' understanding in favour of a more nuanced approach, which recognises Mona's influence, the strategic employment of the brand by external organisations, and interrelated developments in the city.

9.6.2 Arts Growth

The development of hotels in Hobart has been directly linked to Mona and a resurgence of cultural activity in the city, by journalists, cultural commentators, business developers and government. Tasmanian economist Saul Eslake clearly outlines the relationship between cultural regeneration and urban gentrification:

> I think the prospect of having another 1,200 rooms added to Hobart's hotel accommodation over the next couple of years is very much related to the influx of tourists that MONA has attracted. And those visitors have generally been more affluent and have wanted to spend more on hotel accommodation, restaurants and the like than the kind of visitors Tasmania was attracting before the opening of MONA (Eslake, as quoted in Salmon, 2016).

The MPDC similarly explains the economic impact associated with an increase in tourism and the subsequent need to build more hotel stock as being due to 'demand, growing at nearly twice the pace of supply over the next three years' (AEC, 2015: 35). The initial submission to Infrastructure Australia for funding to remediate the precinct also reported that

[96] The format of the annual report differs for the 2015-2016 timeframe, and as such no comparable data is available to ascertain whether this growth has continued (FIRB, 2017).

Hobart was at 'near-capacity' for accommodation (DEDTA, 2013: 10).[97] The MPDC, like Eslake, directly connects this growing demand with Mona's arrival:

> Hobart is currently one of the best performing capital cities in terms of hotel performance, *largely led by the continued popularity of MONA*, strategic marketing by Tourism Tasmania and consistent corporate and government demand.[98] Currently there are over 300 rooms under construction (Macquarie Wharf and The Icon Complex) with a number of mooted hotels within the CBD under consideration. Subject to market demand and timing, Macquarie Point can capitalise on its strategic location in attracting future accommodation uses as part of its development' (MPDC, 2015a: 45, emphasis added). [99]

The MPDC submitted an Assessment of Market Impacts to council which modelled 'Hotel Room Demand' and 'Potential Capture of Market Demand' (AEC, 2015: 58-59) to demonstrate the necessity of hotel development in the city. This economic modelling was based upon Tourism Tasmania's 2010 'Research Snapshot: Accommodation Supply and Demand in Greater Hobart 2010-2017' which suggests four potential growth scenarios. The second model, titled 'Arts Scenario', was defined as an:

> estimate of new visitors to result from current and upcoming arts development including the Museum of Old and New Art (MONA), the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, and Salamanca Arts Precinct. BDA[100] reports 4400 rooms required in this scenario, a shortfall of approximately 800 rooms (Tourism Tasmania, 2010).

This scenario directly cites arts and culture as responsible for current growth, as well as for shaping future economic approaches to tourism in the city. According to this 2010 modelling, under 'the arts scenario' the room nights for Greater Hobart should have reached

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[97] A submission from DEDTA in 2013 (by then Deputy Secretary Liz Jack, who subsequently became the CEO of the MPCD) to Infrastructure Australia, seeking funding for the development of the Macquarie Point site, refers to the importance of the waterfront as a 'national and international tourist destination', which is visited by 785 000 of the 1 000 000 tourists to the state annually, and argues that shortfalls in accommodation are critical, as 'Hobart is at near-capacity' with an 'annual average of 80 per cent or higher occupancy', and within 'a couple of years an estimated additional 1000 rooms will be required' (DEDTA, 2013: 10).

[98] Source: CBRE Hotels *Australian Hotel Market Update February 2015*

[99] The initial statement of 'best performing capital cities' is taken from the CRBE Hotel Market Update, February 2015. (CBRA, 2015a).

[100] BDA Market Planning, a consultancy who performed the analysis for this research.

approximately 1.2 million by 2014 (and 1.3 million under the 'share gain' model, or 1.5 million under the 'T21' growth trajectory).[101]

Similarly, analysis commissioned by Invest Tasmania entitled 'Accommodation Supply Analysis in the Hobart and Greater Hobart Region' (Invest Tasmania, 2014)[102] mobilised Mona as a key agitator in the tourist market. The report found that twenty-two per cent of intrastate travellers were aware of Mona, and nine per cent of interstate visitors came to the state specifically to visit the museum (Invest Tasmania, 2014: 22). The report recognised Mona's impact on boosting tourism demand, as '30% of all leisure visitors to Tas visit Mona' (Invest Tasmania, 2014: 21), and saw the impact on Hobart accommodation as being 'strong as a result' (Invest Tasmania, 2014: 28).

In January 2016, the summer MONA FOMA festival was held on the Mona grounds, migrating from the city up the river to the museum site (where it had been held previously in 2010). Festival curator Brian Richie explained that 'it didn't take over the city like it has in previous years' (quoted in Goddard, 2016), with only the Faux Mo after-party located in Hobart's CBD. Lord Mayor Sue Hickey was unconcerned about the festival's relocation, as 'we'll get our fair share and people will predominately sleep in the city, probably get their breakfast and food here and then go out and enjoy it out at Mona' (quoted in Gramenz, 2016). Mayor Hickey referred to Mona's established connections in Hobart via the Odeon Theatre and Brooke Street Pier, and clearly outlined the connection between MONA FOMA festivals and hotel investment in the city,

> Obviously people are staying with friends or Airbnb and other ways of staying, maybe in boats and things like that, but it's such a wonderful opportunity for people in the hotel industry to recognise the fact that we have a need for hotels and

[101] The Share Gain model is based upon 'continuation of share gains made by Tasmania in interstate and international markets over the last 5 years, projected to 2017. BDA reports 5200 rooms are required, a shortfall of approximately 1600 rooms'. Whereas the T21 targets are 'outlined in the joint strategic plan of Tourism Tasmania and the Tourism Industry Council for 2007-2010. BDA report that the number of rooms required to accommodate this scenario is approximately 6100 rooms, a shortfall of approximately 2500 rooms'. The Share Gain and Target 21 model do not directly mention Mona, but are extensions of the Arts Scenario.

[102] The objectives of the study operate from a deficit model, beginning with a premise of an accommodation shortfall. The three objectives are listed as

- Assess the impact of insufficient accommodation supply in Hobart City and Greater Hobart on visitation
- Determine the level of accommodation supply to meet future demand under a range of scenarios
- Measure the impact of potential accommodation development in Hobart City and Greater Hobart region (Invest Tasmania, 2014).

> more hotel beds…So hopefully there'll be a bit more investment in the city as a result of this as well (quoted in Gramenz, 2016).

These statements demonstrate the centrality of Hobart to the Mona experience, where even a festival located upriver is marshaled as advocatory evidence for city-based hotel development and infrastructural investment. The commentary from media and government also emphasises the significance of and reliance upon the museum and its associated events for the success and necessary growth of the hotel and tourism industries in the south of the state.

9.6.3 Festival Seasonality

The MPDC's invitation for Expression of Interest (EOI) submissions from potential investors reports that 'the state has experienced increased international visitation over the past 12 months, with Hobart's average hotel occupancy rates hitting record highs' (MPDC, 2015g: 6). This acknowledgement of decreased seasonal trends is re-articulated by Premier Will Hodgman and Minister for State Growth Matthew Groom in the EOI Competitive Bid Process overview (cited in MPDC, 2015d: 4). Mona's impact is similarly applied to validate the development of a convention centre in the Macquarie Point precinct (Gaining Edge, 2015), in highlighting how Dark Mofo and the Festival of Voices have 'boosted Tasmania's visitor numbers during quieter months, boosting hotel occupancy' (Gaining Edge, 2015: 30). The 'growth potential' of the city is described as,

> The biggest increase in visitors (based on purpose of visit) was visitation to a cultural/musical festival or event in June 2015. The rich mix of festivals has made Hobart a trendy place to visit. CBD-located large venues will be positive for this range of events with higher potential attendance (Gaining Edge, 2015: 76).

This emphasis on Mona's impact on occupancy throughout the winter months is similarly endorsed in the MPDC's AEC market impacts document (AEC, 2015: 56), alongside other drivers of project demand (visitation growth, increasing range of visitor attractions, increasing visitor accommodation options, government and business demand). However, 2014 data shows a decrease in winter occupancy in June (see Appendix E). The AEC assessment also recognises that visitor nights (total nights in the state, including private accommodation options) were down to 5,201 million nights in 2013/14 from 6,208 in

2012/13 (AEC, 2015: 30), and with tourist visits down from 3.267 million in 2012/13 to 3.054 in 2013/14 (AEC, 2015: 30).

This discrepancy in hotel occupancy numbers in 2014 is potentially explained by the growth of Airbnb, which now represents 10% of Tasmania's inbound tourism (Smiley, 2016) and enthusiasm for small-scale boutique or backpacker accommodation. While a full analysis of accommodation breakdown is beyond the scope of this research, it is significant to note the impact of the rise of 'sharing economy' platforms such as Airbnb and Stayz, which have coincided with Mona's arrival to the state. The small-scale Alabama Hotel (discussed in Chapter Six) developed from a successful Airbnb venture, and the owners acknowledge an influx of short-stay visitors travelling specifically for the museum and associated festivals (Cloake, interview, 2014).

Despite inconsistencies in the upward trajectory of winter accommodation occupancy, 'Decreased Seasonality' is referenced in the AEC report as a key validation for 'future drivers of accommodation across the Hobart market… given the increasing range of visitor attractions, the Hobart region and Tasmania are generally becoming more and more of a "year round" tourism destination and less subject to fluctuations' (AEC, 2015: 57). However, the AEC submission to council warns that

> while hotel room demand is forecast to grow over the next few decades as visitors and visitor nights in Hobart are expected to increase significantly, *it is forecast that annual demand will be lower than that forecast by the Tourism Tasmania report* (across the long term period) (AEC, 2015: 58, emphasis added).

While Hobart is in the top four states in terms of increase in revenue per available room, and sits above the national 4.1% average with an average of 5.8%, the commercial real estate services group CBRE cautions against a dramatic increase in Tasmanian room stock supply. CBRE warned that 'the new room supply mooted for this market will rely on tapping both induced and unsatisfied demand if a significant downturn in occupancy is to be averted' (CBRE, 2015a: 8). A later market update in July 2015 found,

> room supply over the long term must be tinged with economic reality. New rooms mooted in the medium term represent an increase of around 50% of current stock levels; in CBRE Hotel's view the market would struggle to absorb this supply volume despite visitation growth expectations (CBRE, 2015b: 8).

The Table 2 below details current hotel development in the city (as of November 2017), with a final tally of both proposed and approved developments.

Table 2: Hotel Development Hobart

Hotel	Location	Developer/Hotelier	Rooms	Budget	Approval Stage	Notes
Macquarie Wharf Shed Hotel	Macquarie Wharf	Federal Group	116	$35 million	Completed	Partner for Dark Mofo 2017
Crowne Plaza Hobart	187 Liverpool Street	Inter Continental/Kalis	187	$47 million	Under construction	
Ibis Styles Hobart	173-177 Macquarie Street	Fragrance Lty Pty	296	$35 million	Completed	
HOMO at Mona	Mona-Berriedale	Mona	172	NA	Not yet submitted to council	Mona owned and operated
Unnamed	179 Macquarie Street	Ressen Group	225	$45 million	Rejected by council, under appeal by developer	
Hyatt Centric (previously 'Palace Hotel'	Elizabeth Street Bus Mall	Hyatt and Elizabeth Tasmania Pty Ltd	208	$40 million	Approved with height reductions	
The Luxury Hotel	Parliament Square	Citta Group and Marriot	128	$30 million	Approved	Vice President described hotel as 'riding on the coat tails of Mona'[103]
Vibe Hotel	34-36 Argyle Street	Raadas Group and Tog Far East Hotels	120	NA	Approved	
Macquarie Point	Macquarie Point	Macquarie Point Development Corporation	241	NA	EOI's to investors	This is based on the initial master plan- as DarkLab's plan for hotel room numbers has not yet ben released.
Tribe Hotel	9 Sandy Bay Road	Tribe/Mantra Group	147	$15 million	Approved	
Unnamed	Davey Street	Fragrance Group	400	$130 million	Under review	Both Fragrance Group developments have caused controversy in Hobart, due to their proposed heights. [104]
Unnamed	Collins Street	Fragrance Group	495	$130 million	Under review	
Lenna Hotel	Runnymede St, Salamanca	Lloyd and Jan Clark	80	$60 million	Application submitted to council	These are additional rooms as an expansion to a pre-existing hotel
Floating Hotel	Derwent River, next to the Regatta Grounds	Circa Morris-Nunn and Waterborne Developments	270	NA	Not yet submitted to council	
TOTAL			**3085**			

[103] Schlesinger. 2017.

[104] Fragrance Group have also lodged a fourth application to council, details of which are not yet publically available, for a hotel at 234-250 Elizabeth Street. This site has previous been approved for 67 residential apartments. Fragrance Group have also purchased the University of Tasmania's Conservatorium of Music (and accompanying warehouse, three brick buildings, communications tower and heritage listed cottages), which was estimated to sell for approximately $10 million.

In addition to the hotel development onsite at Mona, Carmichael has also referred to a potential hotel as part of the Odeon development, furthering the connection between Mona, hotels and the city, and adding to potential hotel stock. As highlighted by the CBRE report this large increase in hotel stock (from 2757 in 2015 to a total of 5842 if all mooted projects are completed) could have negative impacts on occupancy ratings across the city, which have thus far been increasing overall (CBRE, 2015b). The increase in room numbers would far exceed the Arts Growth model outlined by Tourism Tasmania (2010), as well as moving beyond the Share Gain model (5200 rooms) and towards the T21 model (6100 rooms). In 2016, after the approval of Tribe Hotel Group's 147 room, $15 million development in the city, Tourism Industry Council of Tasmania chief executive Luke Martin, explained 'we can only welcome further investment in the city, but the challenge is we are going to have to keep growing the industry to fill all these rooms' (quoted in Howard, 2016: n.p.).

9.7 Developing the City

In specific response to the Macquarie Point plans, concerns were raised by (then) State Opposition Leader Bryan Green, who cautioned 'we don't want to see Macquarie Point become like Docklands in Melbourne, where it is busy in the summer and when football is on but a ghost town during the week' (as quoted in Smith, 2015b). This threat of Docklands-style gentrification (see Shaw, 2013) can be compared with the findings of planners Booth and Boyle (1993: 40), who report how Glasgow's year as European City of Culture (1990) resulted in policy that catered to visitors' anticipated demands, 'rather than the development of local talent and the cultural industries'.

Comparably, in the case of Bilbao, Ceballos found,

> In the absence of a straightforward causal relationship between the Guggenheim Bilbao Museum and the economic revival of the city, local politicians refer to the indisputable narrative of urban transformations: before, old industrial city in decline; now, post-industrial cultural centre for international tourism and creation of knowledge (Ceballos, 2004: 182).

While there is currently an absence of evidence of a dramatic shift in seasonality for hotel occupancy (Appendix D), the 'indisputable narrative' of Hobart as a 'cultural centre for

international tourism' based upon Mona's arrival is argued in development applications and capitalised on by developers and government.

This narrative of economic growth based on tourism is particularly resonant in light of draft changes to planning legislation for 'Major Project Reforms' which would grant increased power to Tasmania's Planning Minister (Tasmanian Planning Reform, 2017). This proposed legislation is not aligned with Mona and Dark Mofo, but in this chapter I have demonstrated how mooted large-scale projects in the city (particularly hotels) have mobilised the Mona Effect narrative to argue for economic, social and cultural relevance in approval processes.

Conclusion

While this thesis has argued that Mona does not conform to the flagship Bilbao Effect structure, I contend that the Macquarie Point development is increasingly comparable with a culture-led urban regeneration model. At at public seminar (Altered State, 2015), the 'potential' of Mona was discussed: what it could stimulate, what aspirations it could generate? O'Connor stated 'wouldn't it be a waste if that just got translated to… "right, let's get our tourist and waterfront development project all sorted out"' (seminar notes, Altered State, 2015).

The waterfront has been a key site of activity for both summer and winter Mona festivals, and as part of Dark Mofo 2015 the Dark Park precinct was used as a soft launch for the Macquarie Point Development Master Plan. This now leaves Hobart with the challenge of how to encourage what Oakley has described as a 'progressive sense of place' in working out ways to facilitate cultural production and participation as well as consumption (Oakley, 2015: 16). In the following chapter, I discuss what conditions would be necessary to support a 'progressive sense of place' and suggest academic frameworks through which to understand these unfolding developments.

Chapter Ten: Discussion - Regeneration Again?

This thesis has described the evolution of Dark Mofo and Mona in the city of Hobart, and here I review and critically examine the research findings, exploring their implications and limitations in relation to the three research questions. This thesis initially established evidence of Mona and Dark Mofo's impact in the city; secondly it examined the factors which facilitated Dark Mofo's integration into the cultural economy of Hobart; and thirdly, it developed ways to value and measure urban regeneration which consider multiple scales of activity, outside of a purely econometric framework.

In this concluding chapter I discuss the implications of urban regeneration and development projects in relation to the cultural vitality of the Macquarie Point area. I then review the arguments and findings presented in this thesis, and re-situate the specificities of this Hobart-based study within wider narratives of national and international literatures initially outlined in Chapter Two. Chapters Four and Five established how Dark Mofo functioned as Mona's key conduit into the city, and I re-assert that this successful city integration has been facilitated by connections, relationships and networks with local businesses, industry, individual actors and institutions which constitute the cultural economy.

I examine how Mona - predominately though Dark Mofo - has been able to engage with the city through the nuanced and incremental unpicking and challenging of regulatory structures which govern how urban activity had previously been produced, as described in Chapters Six and Seven. I discuss the necessity of ongoing funding for developmental cultural practices, and flexible and adaptive support for the cultural economy to ensure the city remains a vibrant and 'liveable' space for both tourists and local residents, according to findings I presented in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Following this discussion of legislative flexibility, I demonstrate the value of a cultural economy approach for understanding Dark Mofo and Mona's activity, as a means to frame the emerging developments in the city in relation to capital projects, hotel development, and creative industries infrastructure. This thesis has simultaneously argued that Mona does not replicate the Bilbao Effect and that it could easily veer towards conforming to a policy transfer model of culture-led urban regeneration. I discuss the potential implications of these developments, and present a theoretical lens through which to

understand and critique unfolding processes into the future, as they continue beyond questions raised in this thesis.

Finally, I explore the limitations of this research project and suggest future avenues of academic inquiry, specifically relating to the Mona Effect and more broadly in the field of culture-led urban regeneration. I contend that this thesis has contributed towards the development of a methodology which is able to capture the constantly evolving state of cultural activity at both political and personal levels. This methodology has allowed me to produce a robust and critically engaged account of Mona's arrival and growth in the city.

10.1 In Praise of Darkness

In reviewing the conditions that have assisted Mona and Dark Mofo's success, I argue that agile, responsive and sensitive approach to the logistics and operations of city-based activity by government has been instrumental. Fieldwork experience, interviews and Dark Mofo media reports consistently demonstrated the importance of external factors, such as occupational health and safety and regulatory considerations, for the delivery of the festival. In 2015 and 2016, conversations with festival staff and reports from interstate media suggested that the CoH provided greater flexibility around occupational health and safety than interstate councils, resulting in the execution of innovative activity (fieldwork, 2015 and 2016). In Dark Mofo logistics and operations meetings, staff who originated from outside Tasmania frequently commented upon the flexibility and willingness of the City of Hobart to accommodate applications for road closures and temporary liquor licences, in comparison to their work in event management and liaising with other council and governance bodies.

An interstate journalist referred to the open fire pits throughout the Dark Park precinct at Macquarie Point as evidence of the success of Mona and the CoH's collaboration (Valentine, 2016). Valentine contrasted the energy, atmosphere and authenticity the fire at Dark Mofo with Sydney's Vivid festival (a 'lights in winter' public art festival), where 'there is no way a NSW government or council would allow families to get out and then stumble around in the dark' (Valentine, 2016: n.p.). Harmon's review of Dark Mofo similarly noted the 'late-night art parties that took over the Town Hall district, bringing out the freaks for far longer than Sydney's curfew would allow' (Harmon, 2016: n.p.). This sentiment was echoed by Taylor, who reported, 'Tasmania's OH&S inspectors must be easy-going given the wood fires around Hobart, dimly lit spaces and edgy shows at Dark Mofo' (Taylor, 2016: n.p.).

As detailed in Chapter Four, Dark Mofo's brand is predicated on embracing darkness as an environmentally specific feature of the long winter nights. Valentine acknowledged the 'singular vision' of Walsh and Mona in facilitating the Dark Mofo success, but also the 'willingness of a government and community to join in. To give it a go' (Valentine, 2016: n.p.). This willingness was evident in 2016, when, following noise complaints during the 2015 festival, one Hobart hotel left earplugs with a note for guests rather than have the council intervene. The note explained to patrons, 'As we at the Mantra Collins Hotel do not know the full extent of the activities that may occur in our neighbourhood we are taking some precautions by offering our guests earplugs…' (as cited in Valentine, 2016: n.p.).

Flexibility was also afforded in 2015 around the waterfront, where festival night-life generated grassroots and opportunistic responses from local Hobart buskers who occupied spaces around Sullivans Cove, capitalising upon enhanced pedestrianisation and energy between festival sites. Busking in the city requires a license and registration within designated locations,[105] but some busking during this period was spontaneous and unregulated, and appeared not to attract the attention of the CoH or police (fieldwork, 2015). This aligns with observations from the AHRC regarding the importance of public spaces for providing a platform for buskers, beyond the 'physical platforms' of building, which have barriers to entry (Holden, 2015: 31).

10.1.1 Sound and Safety

While Valentine has celebrated business and government responses to Dark Mofo's 'neighbourhood activities' (Valentine, 2016: n.p.), these activities have not been universally celebrated. While undertaking fieldwork in the Dark Mofo office (2015), there were several noise complaints from residents in the Hunter Street precinct regarding sound-bleed from artworks installed at Dark Park. These noise pollution concerns highlight the difficulty in balancing an accommodation and residential area with a site of cultural activity. As the festival is 'really about the waterfront' (Carmichael, interview, 2015), the potential noise impacts on local residents and tourists staying in nearby accommodation may raise questions regarding the appropriateness of this site for noisy late-night festival activities in the future- or the ability for MPDC to continue their objective to support Dark Mofo and Festival of Voices activity onsite (MPDC, 2014: 13). This dynamic has been explored by Gibson and

[105] Locations for buskers include the Elizabeth Street Mall, Wellington Court, Franklin Square and Salamanca (during the market).

Homan (2004) with regards to Sydney live music, highlighting the detrimental relationship between inner city development and stringent noise legislation around live performance venues.

The MPDC Shared Vision document outlines the role of Macquarie Point in 'expanding the city's arts and cultural capabilities' (MPDC, 2014: 13), and encouraging 'interim uses onsite' to contribute to 'placemaking' (2014: 19). In 2016, organisers of The Arts Factory (discussed in Chapter Eight) contacted MPDC with an expression of interest for using a vacant and disused building on the site as a means of realising the MPDC's stated intents of place making, community engagement and cultural development, as 'it will not be enough to construct buildings, roads and paths in the hope the site becomes a place where people want to live work and visit' (MPDC, 2014: 19). After initial positive conversations between The Arts Factory and MPDC, the proposed temporary lease of the Goods Shed was deemed unachievable by the MPDC, primarily due to workplace health and safety issues.[106] In a public letter to the corporation, The Arts Factory expressed their frustrations: '…this is a disappointing turn of events, and signals a gap between the corporation's rhetoric of public engagement and the relationships it is willing to commit to' (pers. comm., H. Ekin and J. Doyle, November 10, 2017),[107] highlighting how logistical constraints can form prohibitive barriers for cultural activity.

This thesis has detailed the relationships between Mona, local governance bodies, and cultural organisations, which are complex, multilayered, occasionally strained, and instrumental in facilitating Dark Mona's ambitious projects. While Franklin (2014) has demonstrated how Mona's 'devil may care' attitude is core to its branding and identity, I argue that the success of the museum's public space projects is partly predicated on negotiations and interactions with governance bodies. In a 2010 interview, MONA FOMA curator Brian Richie described,

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[106] While this particular temporary use initiative failed to be realised, the MPDC has initiated other commercial strategies to populate the site prior to infrastructure development. The 'Red Square' Friday night events feature food trucks (including the GASPmobile) parked outside the onsite Hobart Brewing Company. In August 2016, the MPDC trialed a Friday night Twilight Market to capitalise on the 'enormous potential' of the Goods Shed (Jack, as quoted in Lohberger, 2016a). One stallholder saw the market as positive in getting people 'out and down to an area that doesn't get used' (Muir as quoted in Lohberger, 2016a).

[107] The letter explained: 'Through an expression of interest process, these vacant office blocks were earmarked by the corporation for interim use by arts and community groups. There was widespread interest in taking up this opportunity…Macquarie Point poses an interesting and relevant site to base our new collective and to continue to explore and generate critical reflection on the relationship between creative practices and city life, given that it is a still undetermined development project in the midst of Hobart's changing urban landscape. Given its proximity to the art school, it is also well placed for building new collaborations with students and young artists and allowing them to experiment creatively with their surrounds beyond the school environment' (pers. comm., H. Ekin and J. Doyle, November 10, 2017).

> the fact that MOFO is largely funded by private money perhaps frees it from some bureaucratic imperatives…I think there's kind of an orthodoxy in the arts here - even the experimental arts - a way of doing things, and ticking boxes that we don't really have to do…People are looking at us thinking, they're not playing by the rules (quoted in Priest, 2010: n.p.).

In proceeding with future festivals, enabling non-Mona public space activity, or in attempts to replicate elements of Dark Mofo's success, these externalities of governance interactions require acknowledgment and analysis. In 'not playing by the rules', success is partly reliant on a flexible council and government which are willing to 'play along'.

As urban activity is increasingly encouraged (e.g. the development of Collins Court), utilised as a marketing tool to attract visitors to the state (e.g. Tourism Tasmania campaigns), and made a selling point for potential investors in infrastructural projects (e.g. Macquarie Point Expression of Interest documents), practical concerns regarding road closures, noise complaints, and occupational health and safety considerations will require sensitive and adaptive negotiation. Nuanced policy application will be necessary in order to to support and protect the activities which first attracted developers to the site (and the city).

Beyond the exceptionalism of Mona and Dark Mofo, there is potential for this flexibility to be extended and applied to enable broader and ongoing activity in the city. The potential cultural and civic benefits of bureaucratic agility is equally applicable in other council areas, including the municipality of Glenorchy where Mona is located.

10.2 Impact of the Mona Effect

Chapter Two established the relevance of the term 'Bilbao Effect' as a narrative and theoretical arc against which to frame my discussion of an emerging Mona Effect. This thesis initially destabilised the relationship between accounts of the Bilbao Effect and Mona by presenting evidence of the Guggenheim project as part of planned city intervention, in contrast to Mona as a private initiative which commenced outside government policy or funding. However, as Mona's reach has increasingly extended beyond the Berriedale museum into the city of Hobart, via both temporary Dark Mofo activity and permanent physical expressions, I argue that the urban-led regeneration or 'flagship cultural projects'

model now offers a potentially useful framework for discussing, understanding and communicating unfolding developments in the city.

As previously cited, Miles (2005) has established a set of conditions which are prevalent in cases of culture-led urban regeneration:

> the specifics vary, but cultural led urban redevelopment tends to include the following: the insertion of a flagship cultural institution in a post-industrial zone, often a waterfront site, to lever private-sector investment in the surrounding area and attract tourism; the designation of a neighbourhood as a cultural industries quarter for small- and medium- size businesses in the arts, media and leisure (Miles, 2005: 893).

While this description did not accurately describe the arrival and initial stages of Mona, as developments in the Hobart CBD and waterfront areas progress, the Mona and Hobart case study is becoming increasingly consistent with Miles' checklist. I have demonstrated how the private initiative has stimulated an urban renaissance, although this attraction of tourism and 'private-sector investment' (Miles, 2005: 893) has been primarily realised in the city of Hobart (via Dark Mofo) rather than in the municipality of Glenorchy where the museum is located.

In analysing Hobart's contemporary and ongoing development, meaningful findings can be presented without attempting to apply parameters or final fixity to a complex and unfolding reality. In examining the evolving broader city activity, including capital projects, private developments and funded cultural activity - particularly as the DarkLab/Mona-produced Macquarie Point master plan is refined and released to the public - literatures which critique and examine culture-led urban regeneration transitions will become increasingly relevant and resonant. This includes observations made by Pratt, 2010; Peck, 2005, 2014; Evans, 2005; Miles, 2005; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Stephenson, 2004, 2005; Grodach, 2013; and Patterson and Silver, 2015.

10.2.1 From the Fringe to the Centre

In popular culture and journalistic representations, Mona was initially characterised by its isolated location in 'strange and remote' Tasmania (Perrottet, 2012: n.p.), as an 'outsider's tilt at the orthodoxies of the art establishment' (Glover, 2011: n.p.), and Walsh was cast as a maverick operating outside accepted cultural norms (Coslovich, 2007). The

remote islandness of Tasmania was cited by the Mona communications director as instrumental in the museum's success, by providing an environment that is 'remarkably conducive to risk and increasingly tolerant of kooks and outcasts' (Smith, as quoted in Eccleston and Bowell, 2016: n.p.). However, I have shown how this outsider status has shifted over time, as Mona has increasingly aligned with government policy and funding, and has engaged in corporate partnerships and sponsorships with large international organisations. As one interview participant argued, 'Dark Mofo is one of the most heavily subsidised cultural events in the state. It is no longer this anarchistic, free of government, devil may care…no matter how much it may pretend to be!' (Bonney, interview, 2016).

At a luncheon with the Tasmanian tourism industry, David Walsh unveiled Mona's plans for Hotel Mona (provocatively abbreviated to HOMO). The hotel and associated developments at the Berriedale site will be funded by Walsh, but the museum is seeking support from the government to underwrite the project. At the launch of the hotel plans, Premier Hodgman stated, 'We will consider those things in the cold light of day with my cabinet colleagues and in the best interest of Tasmania, and where the Mona Effect has helped this state so much it'd be silly not to have those conversations' (as reported in Bhole, 2017: n.p.).

The growing association with tourism strategy, policy and governance was articulated by Mona chief executive Mark Wilsdon, who explained, 'the Government are very supportive in terms of Tourism Tasmania of our cooperative marketing campaigns and the like, so I would like to think that's the next step with our relations with government' (as reported in Bhole, 2017: n.p.). David Walsh himself identified the shifting identity and expanding agency of Mona, and the potential tensions associated with the museum's growing activities in urban design, development and planning. He explained, 'Our charter is to be odd, thought-provoking, adventurous, ungainly, swerving, boisterous but always contemplative. I need to resist the push towards the centre' (Walsh, 2018: n.p.).

In 2009, when MONA FOMA first gained government funding, festival director Brian Richie orchestrated a performance rally on Parliament House Lawns in Hobart. Franklin (2014) described how this event symbolically illustrated the festival's position outside of the regulations and conventions of governance by featuring 'an organised protest march, carrying political banners and proclaiming a Free Thought Festival…the government-funded procession introduced disorder to civilised Hobart in the very area overlooked by Parliament House' (Franklin, 2014: 176). Carmichael explained of the event, 'we were very concerned not to be seen being dictated to, not being a normal museum, but having our own

ideas instead, all those values that David has that don't necessarily tie in with government values' (as quoted in Franklin, 2014: 177).

While Dark Mofo still courts controversy and agitates the City of Hobart (e.g. the controversial work by Austrian artist Hermann Nitsch as part of Dark Mofo 2017, involving a freshly slaughtered bull), it is evident that Dark Mofo and Mona are not operating at arm's length from government, but rather are increasingly central to policy platforms, tourism strategies, and Tasmanian branding exercises. At the unveiling of Hotel Mona, Walsh highlighted the complexities of Mona's shifting motivations and developments, explaining 'I liked building a museum that was in a sense critical of the museum industry…a piece of commentary…now I am what I used to criticise, I didn't see that coming' (quoted in Harmon, 2017: n.p.).

While this Mona case study is informed by the specifics of the Hobart context, and deliberately pursues a methodology of place-based ethnographic research in order to analyse the particularities of the research subject – this thesis offers a reference point for examining future arts and cultural developments nationally and internationally. I have demonstrated how economic indicators of 'success' and impact can conceal more than they reveal, and highlighted the significance of a cultural economy approach which incorporates the complex interrelations of the museum and festivals unfolding effects. In promoting a more nuanced analysis these qualitative approaches can be applied to create meaning for economic indicators, rather than being viewed as a supplementary of peripheral to financial measures of 'success.'

10.2.2 Avoiding the Routine

In 2017, Nonda Katsalidis (Mona's architect) compared the onsite hotel development to the iconic and innovative Sydney Opera House (Thomas-Wilson, 2017). As discussed in Chapter Nine, the Opera House was a reference for the Guggenheim Bilbao, and as such Katsalidis' reference frames Mona's new enterprises within the established narrative of culture-led urban regeneration. I argue that as Mona and Dark Mofo move into a phase of public policy, funding, and city planning engagement; international literatures of culture-led urban regeneration gain traction in describing the city. However, in my contention that Mona is increasingly conforming to an urban regeneration model, I simultaneously assert that the strengths which enabled Mona's growth, offer (if protected and encouraged) a means to diminish issues of marginalisation, elitism, gentrification, and disenfranchisement.

In the case of Bilbao, Gonzales asserts that the 'charisma' of the Bilbao Effect has resulted in replications of the culture-led urban-regeneration narrative which fail to incorporate the specificities of the Bilbao experience, and routinisation of a 'global convergence to a more neo-liberal urban policy' (Gonzales, 2011: 1413). Gonzales argues that cities such as Bilbao and Barcelona have 'high levels of political and financial autonomy and charismatic leaders who are coming up with creative neo-liberal solutions, which are emulated by foreign policy-makers' (2011: 1414). While Bilbao and Barcelona strategies were both careful to include social projects and local constituents in the urban regeneration process, the subsequent 'policy transfer' of the Bilbao Effect loses local nuances and 'become[s] hegemonic and part of a wider code according to which some ideas are deemed possible and others discarded. The stories of urban success play an important role in legitimising certain investment in this economistic narrow direction' (Gonzales, 2011: 1415).

Weber's (1922) theory of the 'routinisation of charisma' offers a potential framework for considering the rise of Mona and Dark Mofo. Weber's argument asserts that charismatic leaders face pressures to conform to bureaucratic structures once they enter legitimate leadership positions. Once in leadership roles, the charisma which once afforded them power and authority is threatened by the conventions this new position demands (Weber, 1922). By extending Weber's theory from the individual to the institution, I contend that Mona and Dark Mofo can be read as charismatic examples in social, cultural, economic and political realms, and have become incrementally 'routinised' as the museum and festivals have shifted towards alignment with government funding, large-scale sponsorship and city planning strategies. Weber's category of charismatic leaders similarly correlates with the roles of Mona and Dark Mofo's innovators, including David Walsh, Kirsha Kaechele and Leigh Carmichael, whose individual visions have shaped the course of the Mona brand and activities.

Following Weber's theory (1922), the routinisation of charisma results in dictatorships, authoritarianism or the fall of the once popular regime. In Mona Effect forums and policy debates, the question of 'what happens if Mona shuts down or ceases to be popular' was frequently raised. What happens to Hobart if the charismatic power of Mona wanes? Furthermore, if the charisma of Mona and Dark Mofo is interlinked with their innovation and experimentation, how then to maintain the frisson of the initial years of museum and festival activity, while becoming increasingly bound to government requirements for growth in visitor numbers, hotel occupancy rates, and marketing reach?

Although initially the Mona Effect narrative aligned with Weber's (1922) concept, here I argue that the Mona experience detours from this theoretical structure. I suggest that Mona and Dark Mofo, through an emphasis on locatedness, offer the potential of avoiding the pitfalls of routinisation and subsequent loss of charisma. In reviewing my findings on the qualities which afforded Mona's growth and economic strength, I demonstrated the significance of a distributed agency model and the embeddedness of Mona and Dark Mofo in the specificities of the Tasmanian cultural economy, has enabled innovative and symbiotically supportive activity. I argue that the success of Mona and Dark Mofo is predicated on its locatedness, which is informed by both global networks and personal connections, and that the specific Mona experience cannot be readily translated across the globe to other localities. These findings resonate with Gonzales' Bilbao case study (2011), where she asserted that local actors were 'very aware of the specificities of their localities' in determining the successful development and implementation of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao and associated flows of tourism (Gonzales, 2011: 1414). However, this specificity was overlooked and erased when the Bilbao Effect cultural planning model was replicated in other cities around the world.

Leigh Carmichael has highlighted the necessity of supporting a broad cultural economy in the city beyond the drawcard of Mona: 'Mona has an interest in Hobart being a vibrant place - we've already expressed that through our festivals…this is potentially an extension of that. At the end of the day, we want to make a contribution back - we see that Hobart needs more than Mona' (Benuik, 2015: n.p.). Even before the Dark Park and Macquarie Point development, the festival director recognised that 'as a city, we don't just want to be about Mona. Mona's great, and will be doing its thing for a long time, but if Hobart can start to have multiple world-class projects happening it can turn itself into a really significant arts base' (as quoted in Abey, 2013). In 2016, visitors to Mona slightly decreased from the previous year (338 358 visitors to the museum in 2016, down from 340 800 in 2015 [Tourism Tasmania 2015a; 2016]), highlighting the need to look beyond Mona for sustaining the long-term resilience of Tasmania's cultural economy and continuing to attract tourist flows. Walsh also cautioned that a growth in visitor numbers, while stimulating economic activity, may result in a 'further suppression of non-Mona cultural activities' and the possibility that 'Mona will give governments an excuse to shirk their responsibility to the arts' (Walsh, 2018).

In considering future activity in the city, the charismatic impact of Mona may evolve by maintaining and engendering value in the networks, relationships, flexibility and

locatedness of the cultural economy, even as governmental responsibilities increase. Gonzales (2011) has argued that the international mobilisation of the Bilbao Effect can be

> reimagined as smoke screens behind which agendas of privatisation, modernisation of public services or tertiarisation of the economy can be implemented. On a more positive side, they can also be mobilised as agendas for improvement of public spaces, high-quality urban design or civic participation - although during my research I have found little evidence for this latter interpretation (Gonzales, 2011: 1414).

Weber's theory of charisma and routinisation has historically been applied to describe the normalisation of charisma into bureaucratic practice. However, in the case of culture-led urban regeneration projects, this normalisation concerns more than simply the bureaucratic administration of culture, but also alters the framing rationale which underpins it. Routinisation involves a shift from a charismatic cultural intervention to the 'business as usual' foregrounding of its economic rationale as a source of its legitimation. This shift is articulated by Moulaert et al. (2007), who describe the Bilbao experience as a 'clear cut case' where the subsequent policy transfer of the Bilbao Effect 'selected, limited and fixed the multitude of possibilities in the field of urban policy' (Moulaert et al., 2007: 199). In employing a routinised narrative of the Bilbao Effect, cities are investing in flagship cultural regeneration projects in order to 'bring socio-economic wealth', which sits within a broader political economic discourse of neoliberalism (Moulaert et al., 2007: 199).

Here I argue that Mona and Hobart present an opportunity to move beyond a routinised neoliberal rationale by recognising the efficacy of a cultural economy model to facilitate both economic and community-engaged outcomes, for both visitors and residents. Moulaert et al. emphasise that the 'neo-liberal urban development discourse…abstracts away from the actual development trajectories of each specific urban case and tends to overlook the fact that development is deeply historical, place-specific and embedded…' (Moulaert et al., 2007: 196).

Below I re-examine how Mona's embeddedness was established, and assert the necessity of protecting the networks, particularities and relationships which assisted in generating both Mona's strengths and the strength of the cultural economy more broadly. I argue that continued protection and extension of Mona's embeddedness and locatedness can assist in promoting a liveable city with high-quality public spaces, civic engagement and

considered cultural urban planning. Oakley and O'Connor (2015) have cited Hobart as exemplary of the potential to negotiate a re-imagined and progressive cultural economy which is simultaneously constituted of 'capital-led and fine-grained approaches' (Oakley and O'Connor, 2015: 208). A robust and continually developing cultural economy in Hobart, and Tasmania more broadly, can (and has, as demonstrated in the examples of small-scale food, beverage, arts, craft and music practices described in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight), allow for charismatic actors to remain locally relevant, and continue to attract flows of tourists and engage residents. This legitimisation is specific, connected to both the local and the global, predicated on the everyday, and culturally informed - and thereby has the potential to avoid the pitfalls of bureaucratisation.

10.3 Reimagining the City

As demonstrated throughout my thesis, Mona's impact is partly predicated on a diversity of official and unofficial partnerships with businesses, organisations and individuals. This resonates with research conducted in the post-industrial city of Newcastle, where it has been observed that 'there is nothing more precarious for the long-term economic vitality than being a single-industry town' (Westbury, 2015: 67). In this respect, the potential loss of 'charisma' for the museum and festivals can be counterbalanced by the robust cultural economy of the city, which both supports and is supported by Mona and Dark Mofo.

Westbury further explains that 'perhaps the most important changes are invisible and intangible. They are in imagination and expectations' (2015: 148). This thesis has demonstrated how Dark Mofo has performed as an agitator for city-based activity, both within the festival period and also in prompting new relationships for citizens and visitors with their public spaces. Dark Mofo both asked and demanded that the public re-imagine the potential of the city spaces. It is therefore pertinent to continue questioning what the future could look like for Hobart, as the city undergoes a physical transformation with the development of Macquarie Point, hotel developments and the Odeon cultural hub. What can be learnt for Hobart from national and international examples of city place making and city activation strategies?

10.3.1 Activating Whose City?

This thesis has demonstrated how Dark Mofo's waterfront engagement utilised and extended public spaces, particularly in bringing people to the disused Macquarie Point precinct, and to smaller spaces such as Collins Court. Vega argues that cities can be understood as either a 'generator of diversity', following the work of Jane Jacobs, or a 'generator of inequality', as proposed by David Harvey (Vega, 2013: 54). This dual identity and potential of public spaces is similarly surmised by Deutsche, who contends that 'public space is inextricably linked to democratic ideals' (1992: 34), while simultaneously questioning the assumption that public spaces are 'self-evidently public' (1992: 37).

In the case of Macquarie Point, the questions of 'whose rights' and 'whose space' (Harvey, 2003) were identified in the 'Review of Stakeholder and Community Response to the Macquarie Point Strategic Framework and Master Plan 2015 - 2030' (MPDC, 2015i). The questionnaire found a small number of responses expressing community disenfranchisement at the development of an 'elitist precinct', and concerns that the development may become 'a luxury ghetto for the wealthy' (MPDC, 2015i: 1). These sentiments resonate with Miles' (2005) findings that 'a cultural zone can easily be read as a zone of affluence' (2005: 890). As discussed in Chapter Two, arts-led urban regeneration can result in the gentrification of cities and the subsequent marginalisation of lower income groups, who are often involved in producing the initial cultural vibrancy which attracted investment and tourism to the area in the first place. In a Hobart and Mona context, developments in the city again raise the question of how to integrate the 'outsider' museum with more conventional and economic-driven city planning and investment. As Miles and Paddison (2005) argue, 'all too often there appears to be an assumption that the rehabilitation of the urban will automatically revitalise the public sphere' (2005: 836), without consideration of how this might be achieved and the potential implications of revitalisation.

Additionally, reimagining the city requires consideration of the impacts of temporary events and how 'activation' intersects with liveability for residents. In 2015 Dark Mofo used the Salamanca lawns area as a site for the development of a public sculpture. This grass area is used throughout the year for public gatherings and busking, and is lit with fairy lights in the evenings. For three weeks prior to the festival the area was cordoned off to the public during installation, and for the duration of the festival this area required ticketed entry. Four weeks after the conclusion of the festival the public space remained closed due to damage to the grass and topsoil (fieldwork, 2015). These lawns sit adjacent to the weekly Salamanca Markets, which are the most visited tourist attraction in the state. While a minor impact in the overall scheme of the festival's success, to have this significant space unavailable to the

public for such an extended period places in question the point when 'city activation' ceases to enhance the quality of a place, but rather render it less livable to the general public. As activities in Hobart develop and expand, the needs of different interest groups will require consideration, particularly in relation to road congestion, noise pollution, and quality of public space.

10.4 The Growth of 'Success'

The growth of the cultural economy and associated flows of tourism to Tasmania resonates with international shifts in city activation and tourism policies, as the promotion of perpetual growth in tourism is being questioned. The cost of tourism and the expense of local experience is increasingly being assessed, as evident in Barcelona, a city with a population of 1.6 million residents which experienced 32 million visitors in 2016. The Barcelona Strategic Tourism Strategy (2017) recognises that tourism has become an inherent and integral part of the city, and policies and practices of tourism need to be 'reconciled with everyday life in the city' (Barcelona Tourism Department, 2017: 2). In acknowledging how visitors are co-producers of Barcelona, the Tourism Strategy aims to 'break the dichotomous positions that clearly separate "tourism" from the "rest of the city"' (Barcelona Tourism Department, 2017: 3) by generating a sustainable and ongoing structure to support both visitors and local residents. The strategy outlines practical approaches to accommodate both tourist and local experiences, including protecting public spaces and expanding pedestrianised streets in high-density tourist areas (2017: 3).

In an attempt to protect the qualities which first attracted visitors to the city, the Barcelona Tourism Strategy recognises that 'tourism cannot be regarded as an economic activity detached from the place it occurs in' (Barcelona Tourism Department, 2017: 3). In a Tasmanian context, the place specificity of Dark Mofo festivals and the location of the museum has been identified as instrumental to their success. The environmental particularity of Dark Mofo was acknowledged by Premier Will Hodgeman in the 2016 event program, explaining 'There is indeed nothing quite like it. And that's a good thing. When we embrace all that makes Tasmania quirky and unique, we are unbeatable. No one can copy it, nowhere can replicate it. And it's very difficult to compete with. Rug up Tasmania, and enjoy Dark Mofo' (Dark Mofo, 2016, n.p.). In promoting a sense of the local which is global in outlook and universal in experience (Massey, 1994), I assert the importance in valuing and protecting

these non-static local qualities, in addition to connecting with international flows of visitors and cultural producers.

The Barcelona Tourism Strategy also promotes a policy which considers 'sustainability not just as an attribute but also as a desired effect for the whole value chain, as a landmark to achieve within the entire destination' (Barcelona 2017: 3). This thesis has found that Mona and Dark Mofo's relationship with the embedded and networked creative practitioners, businesses, individuals and organisations which constitute the cultural economy, has been instrumental to the museum's integration with the city of Hobart. Here I assert the importance of developing policies and practices which support these local conditions into the future, as both Mona and the cultural economy of the city modify and adapt.

Following Glasgow's year as City of Culture, Miles showed how there was a 'turn towards addressing visitor's wants' at the expense and 'marginalisation of local interests' and the cultural industries of the city (Miles, 2012: 678; also see Both and Boyle, 1993; Banitopoulou, 2001; and Gomez, 1988). Similar critiques have been levelled at the Museum of Contemporary ART (MOCA) in Los Angeles, for 'neglecting the local arts scene' (Grodach, 2010: 361) as they have in Bilbao. Comparably, Rauen (2010) argues that Basque artists have been excluded from directly benefiting from the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.

The importance of encouraging developmental practice is outlined in the Creative Hobart Strategy (City of Hobart, 2013a), which makes clear a desire to ensure a 'vibrant cultural life across the year, aside from just festival content' (Holliday, interview, 2014). Policies such as this assist in sustaining ongoing cultural practice and a vibrant city environment for tourists as well as residents. Key to this is understanding how to support cultural activity within a diverse and dynamic cultural economy. The methodological contribution that I describe below attempts to provide an approach that allows situated and specific insights that do not produce universal narratives. Rather, research findings are connected to both broader structural analysis and specific local effects.

10.5 Methodological Contribution

My methodological approach combines ethnographic practices and local experiences with policy analysis and academic theory. In exploring the relationship between the particularities of the local conditions and more general trends in urban regeneration, I follow Harvey's (2016) advice that research needs to reintegrate the 'how' and the 'where' with the

'why', and Peck's (2017) argument that the exclusive use of ethnographic research can fail to engage with broader structural influences.

In investigating both lived experiences and meta-narratives, I suggest that a more rounded and inclusive understanding of urban regeneration processes, impacts and successes can be established. This approach was particularly significant in relation to unveiling the significance of interpersonal relationships and local networks which facilitated the development of cultural activity in the city. These networks and connections emerged as central to the success of Mona and Dark Mofo's city activity, highlighting the non-replicability and non-transferability of the Mona case to other city contexts. In situating the specific case of Dark Mofo within broader literatures, my methodology enabled the mechanisms of on-the-ground actions and academic findings to be dually considered.

This research practice also allows for both a locally relevant and internationally resonant research exercise. In the context of neoliberal urbanism, Peck (2017) has highlighted the limitations of 'short-hand' explanations which compress 'unyielding' theoretical frameworks onto case studies. Rather, Peck advocates for an approach which,

> acknowledges the recognition of contextual complexity "all the way down"…for interrogation across multiple cases and sites, along with reflexive interpretations of the interplay between grounded circumstances, mediation conditions and contingent effects on the one hand, and their enabling conditions of existence, operational parameters and connective circuits on the other (Peck, 2017: 9).

In remaining 'sceptical of universalism and particularism' (Peck, 2017: 10), my findings have reflexively found examples of the universal within the particular, without ascribing equivalency to either: 'moving in and out from immediate (or proximate) contexts to the (constitutive) contexts of those contexts' (Peck, 2017:10).

My research practice avoids a 'one-size fits all explanatory "shell", superimposed upon or wrapped around each and every case' (Peck, 2017: 19) through examining the specificities of Hobart, Mona and Dark Mofo at a grassroots and local level. In doing so, I give meaning and structure to these findings by setting them against a wider landscape of local, national, and international trends in policy and scholarly theory. While Bilbao Effect literature has primarily acted to align a theory with a location, I have traced local developments at a local level, and explored the ways in which these developments intersect

with (or detour from) broader trends and movements in allowing for 'context and complexity, all the way down' (Roman, 2015: 192).

10.6 Future Research and Limitations

This thesis has traced the evolution of Mona and Dark Mofo in the city, addressing the research questions. However, the project has been shaped in scope and scale by unfolding activities as they occur in Hobart. As such, this has directed my methodology in being flexible and responsive to new developments, including the Dark Mofo festivals, which began at the same time I commenced my candidature. This timeline therefore necessitated an approach which incorporated new activities and actions in the city rather than applying pre-determined theoretical frameworks to an established environment. For future research into the Mona Effect and urban regeneration in the city, there is opportunity to examine local developments in relation to recognised theories, and to extend upon research which has established the academic narrative of Mona's arrival (Franklin, 2014, 2016; Booth et al 2017; Booth, 2017; Ryan, 2016; Conroy, 2013).

Mona and Dark Mofo's relationship to music and performance arts only gained peripheral attention in this research. These cultural activities are central to MOMA FOMA and Dark Mofo programming, and the museum has music programming (both onsite and at the Mona-owned Odeon theatre) throughout the year. As Mona and Dark Lab develop the Odeon site in the city, the relationship with music and performance will be further enhanced. Music Tasmania, the peak body for music and live performance in the state, was established in 2009 and since 2015 (under different stewardship with a new CEO) has held an increasingly prominent role in both the local cultural economy and national music industry networks. I suggest that this field warrants robust and specific research. Equally, my investigations into the impact of Mona and Dark Mofo on the local food and beverage industries was limited by the scale of the research project. Food tourism, boutique production and locavore eating are growing industries in the state, and would be relevant fields for further inquiry as they develop into the future.

Additionally, as outlined Section 3.5.2, interview participants were all individuals who have directly engaged with Mona or Dark Mofo, and have been identified as having a level of recognition by their peers or place of employment within the cultural economy. The interconnection and robust sense of a cultural community was evident in the frequent referrals to other interview participants, evidencing a level of data saturation and success of

my research methods. However, this density of interconnected actors simultaneously highlights a narrowness in the scope of inclusion of participants. In pursuing a research agenda which aimed to be 'at the heart of it' (Willis, 1977: 4), the scope to include marginalised or outsider voices was diminished. In being at the 'heart' of Hobart's cultural economy, the primary narrative was described by those who have benefited from the current economic, social, and cultural dynamics. In devising future research agendas, it would be appropriate to seek out the experiences of people who have not been beneficiaries of current dynamics of the section, in order to extend the perimeter of understanding Mona's impact. This approach would allow for analysis to comprehend the barriers people face in capitalising on Mona's impact, or uncovering reasons individuals or organisations might wish to abstain from doing so.

Future research may also incorporate data-sets which commenced collection during my candidature. The TCI is currently establishing baseline data regarding participation and financial earnings in the cultural sector, which as it develops over time, will begin to illustrate trends and shifts. Other quantitative measures of interest would be to map physical transformations in the city in relation to hotel and cultural precinct development, following methodologies advanced in the Tasmanian Sensing Tourism Travel project (Hardy et al., 2017).

In a broader sense, my research concludes by asking questions as to the future. What is the vision for Tasmania; and how does culture-led urban regeneration and planning intersect with this vision? What might a localised cultural economy resemble in a Tasmanian setting, and what conditions can protect and enable this? As Oakley and O'Connor have argued, urban regeneration - particularly of poorer neighbourhoods - 'will only be achieved when the notion of what "regeneration" means is changed' (2015: 206). Future research offers the potential to develop a reimagining of regeneration processes which respond to the particularities of a location, take into account the broad and contextual impacts of development, and endorse a 'progressive sense of place' (Oakley and O'Connor, 2015: 208). In establishing academic frameworks to discuss the evolution of Mona and Dark Mofo, and suggesting future theoretical narratives by which to understand unfolding developments, I contend that I have provided scaffolding upon which more specific research agendas can be built.

My research has suggested that the urban regeneration narrative is progressively becoming more relevant to understanding the evolution of the museum's engagement with Hobart, despite initial findings that the Mona Effect did not correlate with the Bilbao Effect

experience. I have argued that while Mona did not align with the policy-transfer model of arts-led urban regeneration, the museum's evolving presence in the city and relationships with governance bodies has shifted towards a GLAMUR (Plaza, 2008) model of operating. As Mona continues to develop into the future, how can it maintain both the 'cultural renaissance' (Hawthorne, 2013) and 'economic renaissance' (Christie, 2016) that have formed the Mona Effect narrative? This question is particularly pertinent in light of Hobart's bid for a Federal Government 'City Deal' for Macquarie Point, and Mona's investment in onsite extensions doubling in the next five years (Walsh, 2018).

This thesis has argued that the future of Mona and Hobart's cultural economy presents an opportunity to protect the qualities of embeddedness, locality and bureaucratic flexibility that enabled the museum's integration with the cultural economy of the city, and to promote a cultural economy which does not mimic or replicate international examples - but rather promotes the place-specificity which has afforded the growth of activity thus far.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Attendees to Mona Symposium and Seminars

As part of the ARC Linkage grant, the Mona Effect research project initiated a 'three-year series of Bilbao Effect Seminars in which all key industry partners and relevant groups gather to exchange information, assess progress, frame strategies and synergies and assess feedback from the project's ongoing series of findings' (Franklin et al., 2012: 10). The project brief outlines how 'such seminars are a central component of our approach to research and training and permit the exchange of information to ramify through into the various ongoing strands of research as well as the process of catalysis itself' (ibid). These seminars were an integral 'research tool' (Franklin et al., 2012: 11) in shaping this thesis: for both identifying key actors in the cultural economy, and performing as an iterative process of refining my research question through engagement with ongoing and unfolding catalysts, while simultaneously expanding my knowledge of the local milieu.

To illustrate the breadth and depth of the participants in the seminars, and how themes crystallised over time, I have compiled the following tables listed the individuals, and – where available - their role and associated organisation. It should be noted that many of the individuals listed below work and participate across multiple organisations and work places. In the interest of fidelity to the presentation of the seminars, here I have exclusively listed the primary organisation they self identify with, but am aware of far wider connections through participation on boards, independent practice, festival economy work (multiple and changing throughout the year); as well as cultural practitioners' primary income sometimes being from a non-cultural field.

Mona Effect Seminars

Mona Effect Seminar 1: Thursday 20th June, 2013

The first seminar was held at UTAS, on June 20th 2013. The briefing provided to participants with broad introduction to the Bilbao Effect, and introduced the aims of the research project to 'study this unfolding drama' (email correspondence, 2013).

Name	**Organisation**	**Role**
Jacqui Allen	DEDTA	Deputy Secretary Culture, Recreation and Sport
Fiona Barber	Art Tasmania	Industry Development Unit Manager
Sue Bis Winkel	Glenorchy City Council	Manager Community Inclusion
Dr Kate Booth	UTAS	Mona Effect Research
Jane Castle	Hobart City Council	Cultural Programs Coordinator
Professor Adrian Franklin	UTAS	Mona Effect CI
Philip Holliday	Hobart City Council	Group Manager Events, City Marketing and Cultural Development
Edwina Hughes	UTAS	Mona Effect PhD Candidate
Miriam McGarry	UTAS	Mona Effect PhD Candidate
Michael McLaughlin	Glenorchy City Council	Community Cultural Development Officer
Anne McVilly	Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority (PAHSMA)	Director Tourism Operations
Professor Justin O'Connor	Monash University	MONA Effect CI
Andrew Ross	PAHSMA	Marketing Manager
Tim Short	HCC	Manager Economic Development
George Wilkie	HCC	Executive Manager City Design

Mona Effect Seminar 2: 13th September, 2013 – hosted by Mona

Following the second Mona Effect seminar in September 2013, the emerging themes and discussion points identified by the research team and circulated to project partners. These themes informed the direction of my research during my first year of candidature; particularly in recognising that 'we are looking at where Mona sits and how it is acting within the wider arts/cultural policy world' (email correspondence to participants, September 2013). The key themes identified by the team were:

- Mona Effect as collaborative and synergistic
- The Effect as re-configuring Tasmania's character
- The Effect as risk taking
- The Effect as process
- The Effect as home-grown

This thematic breakdown was based on the presentations and discussions from partners, including:

Name	**Organisation**	**Role**
Sue Bus Winkel	GCC	Manager of Community Inclusion
Kate Booth	UTAS	Mona Effect Research Team
Jane Castle	HCC	Cultural Programs Coordinator
Luke Conroy	UTAS	Honours Student
Adrian Franklin	UTAS	Mona Effect Chief Investigator
Meagan Goodwin	Tourism Tasmania	Researcher
Philip Holliday	HCC	Group Manger- Events, City Marketing and Cultrual Development
Katherine Hough	Arts Tasmania	Director
Edwina Hughes	UTAS	Mona Effect Research Team
Alex Koroluk-Stephenson	UTAS	Honours Student
Mary Lijnzaad	Mona	Manager- Library and Numismatics Collections
Michael McLaughlin	GCC	Community and Cultural Development Officer
Justin O'Connor	Monash University	Mona Effect Chief Investigator
Lois Ryan	Tourism Tasmania	Manager – Stakeholder Communications and Public Affairs
George Wilkie	HCC	Executive Manager City Design
Mark Wilsdon	Mona	Business Manager

Mona Effect Seminar 3: April 11th 2014 – hosted by the City of Hobart.

This seminar has a specific theme and was titled 'Project partners exchanging news and fostering collaborative regeneration.' A list of attendees was not recorded at the time, but presentations were heard from the below researchers, in addition to informal discussion and updates from partner organisations.

-Adrian Franklin (University of Tasmania)
-Miriam McGarry (University of Tasmania)
-Jasmin Pfefferkon (University of Melbourne)
-Kate Booth (University of Tasmania)

Mona Effect Seminar 4: 18th September 2015 - hosted by Mona.

This session was focused upon the theme of 'Regenerating City and Region through Art Tourism?'

Participants:

Name	Organisation	Role
Gene Sherman	SCAF	Director, SCAF
Gil Nicol	MCA	Director of Public Engagement
Elizabeth Pearce	MONA	Writer
Fiona Pearce	melythina tiakana warrana Aboriginal Corporation	DPW
Emma Lee	melythina tiakana warrana Aboriginal Corporation	PhD Candidate UTAS in joint management of Tas natural heritage areas
Rob Pennicott	Pennicott Wilderness Journeys	Owner
Jane Castle	CoH	Cultural Programs Manager
Janet Carding	TMAG	Director
Andy Baird	TMAG	Acting Deputy Director, Audience Engagement
Richard Mulvany	QVMAG	Director
Janet Keeling	QVMAG	Visitor Engagement
Brett Steel	Tas Whisky Tours	Owner
Brian Richie	MOFO	Artistic Director
Chloe Proud	Ethos, Tasmanian Juice Press	Co-owner
Jen Fry	Tasmanian Parks and Wildlife Service	Visitor Services
Magdalena Lane	DEDTA/Detached	Advisor
Christina Scott	Henry Jones Art Hotel	Curator
Chris Marshall (convenor)	UniMelb	Academic
Mark Wilsdon	MONA	Business Manager
Jarrod Rawlins	MONA	Curator
Delia Nichols	MONA	Media Manager and Research Curator
Sean Kelly	Moonah Arts Centre	Arts Officer
Andrew Ross	Port Arthur	Marketing Manager
Rosemary Miller	Salamanca Arts Centre	CEO/Director
Llewllyn Negrin	TCoTA	Artist/Academic
Michael Lockwood	UTAS	Geography
Adrian Franklin	UTAS	Chief Investigator, MONA Effect
Stella Gray	UTAS	PhD, MONA Effect
Kate Booth	UTAS	Post Doc, MONA Effect
Miriam McGarry	UTAS	PhD, MONA Effect

Additional Seminars

Altered State: Associated Workshops and Symposium, 21-23rd October 2015. Hosted by Tasmanian College of the Arts.

The Altered State event was a series of workshops based upon four themes of cultural economy, participation, urban design and governance. Each theme area had a small focus group discussion, before reconvening the following day for visiting experts to present at public seminar.

1. **Cultural Economy –** led by Kate Oakley.

Focus: how do we develop local capacity in the cultural industries
–not simply the 'commercial' sector but the full ecology of independent artists and freelancers, small cultural businesses, public sector institutions, large private companies, ancillary/support/intermediary services. How can the impact of Mona be captured in order to grow local capacity?

Participant Name	Organisation	Role
Sara Cooper	Cooper Screen Academy	Director
Kit Wise	Tasmania College of the Arts, UTAS	Head of School
Justin O'Connor	Monash University	C.I on Mona Effect Research
James Riggall	Bitlink	Managing Director
David Patman	Artist	
Tony Bonney	Festival of Voices	Director
Fiona Barber	Arts Tasmania	Manager- Industry Development
Miriam McGarry	UTAS	PhD Candidate

2. **Participation: Communities and Citizenship –** led by Tom Flemming

Focus: Cultural policy has always sought to enhance community cohesion, local identity and a sense of civic citizenship. How far has Mona and its range of events, festivals and other initiatives contributed to this? Does challenging contemporary art exclude as well as exclude? How far has Mona changed the identity of Hobart/ Tasmania (from 'Tasmanian gothic' to hipster capital).

Participant Name	Organisation	Role
Jane Castle	HCC	Cultural Programs Coordinator
Stella Grey	UTAS	PhD Candidate- MONA Effect
Jami Bladel	Kickstart Arts	Artistic director and CEO
Natalie De Vito	Junction Festival	Festival Director
Travis Tiddy	Queenstown Festival	Festival Director
Janet Carding	TMAG	Director

Michael McLaughlin	GCC	Arts and Cultrual Development Manager

3. **Urban Design and Planning** – led by Carl Grodach

Focus: Flagship cultural institutions such as Mona have been central to many urban development strategies, usually conceived in terms of the physical renewal of built infrastructure and raising real estate values as a prelude to development. These both have upsides and downsides which need managing. But there are also issues around the soft infrastructure of the city – facilitating events and activities, engaging citizens, building in new digital infrastructures as well as the design qualities fitting a city with new forms of global attention and local ambition.

Participant Name	Organisation	Role
Jerry de Gryse	Inspiring Place	Director
Neil Noye	CoH	Development and Environmental Services Director
Tony McCullen	GCC	Planner and Manager of City Strategy
Pippa Dickson	GASP	CEO
Stephen Loo	UTAS	Head of the School of Architecture and Design (appointed Director of Creative Exchange Institute)
Peta Heffernan	Liminal Studio	Director
Kate Booth	UTAS	Post Doc Researcher on MONA Effect Project

4. **Governance, policy and evaluation**: led by Hans Mommass

Focus: All these themes imply new techniques or forms of governance, but this theme looks at the issue from a macro-perspective. Is Tasmania able to imagine, develop and deliver a cultural economy strategy commensurable with the possibilities opened up by Mona? What would these new approaches look like? What new networks and channels of consultation, negotiation, research and participation need to be established to maximise this potential? Finally, what kinds of data, research and evaluation frameworks need to be established in order that interventions into a complex system such as the cultural economy can be monitored and evaluated against a set of goals.

Participant Name	Organisation	Role
Jacqui Allen	DEDTA	Deputy Secretary, Cultural and Tourism Development
Geoff Herriot	Screen Tasmania	Chair
Philip Holliday	CoH	Manager Events and Cultural Development
Magdalena Lane	DEDTA	Project Manager- Policy and Research

Lucy Hawthorne		Visual arts writer, artist and researcher
Tony Richardson		Professional facilitator

Creative City Workshop: The Mona Effect- 13th May 2015

This event was organised by Justin O'Connor (CI) as part of the ARC Linkage project. The workshop was not recorded, and it was decided specific examples within the workshop would be kept in confidence. However, the discussion was formative to directing my research questions, and framing my approach to this thesis. The questions provided to participants were based upon these five points:

1. The Mona Effect and the Creative City
2. Assessing the Creative City
3. What kind of Economic Impact?
4. Creative Cities and the Economic Metanarrative
5. Conclusions and Next Steps

Participants

Name	**Organisation**	**Role**
Jane Castle	CoH	Cultural Programs Coordinator
Jacqui Allen	Department of State Growth	Deputy Secretary Culture, Recreation and Sport
Natalie De Vito	Junction Arts Festival	Executive Director
Pippa Dickson	GASP	Glenorchy Arts and Sculpture Park
Kelly Drummond Cawthorn	HYPE Program (SAC)	Independent Producer
Carl Grodach	QUT	Senior Lecturer, Property and Planning
Nicholas Heywood	Conservatorium of Music (UTAS)	Senior Lecturer
Katherine Hough	Arts Tasmania	Director
Miriam McGarry	UTAS	PhD candidate
Michael McLaughlin	GCC	Community Cultural Development Officer
Travis Tiddy	Queenstown Festival	Director

Appendix B: Interview Participant Table

Participant	Role/Reason for Interviewing	No of Interviews	Gender	Age Bracket
Adam James	Café owner	2	M	25-35
Adam Ousten	Writer and musician	1	M	25-35
Alasdair Doyle	Artist	1	M	Under 25
Brett Steele	Whisky business owner	1	M	25-35
Chloe Proud	Café owner	1	F	25-35
Elliot Taylor	Band member and Mona FoH	1	M	25-35
Fiona Hamilton	Aboriginal cultural engagement for Mona	1 (via phone)	F	35-45
Grace Herbert	Artist and Mona FoH	1	F	25-35
James Newitt	Artist and UTAS Lecturer	1	M	25-35
Jane Castle	CoH	2	F	35-45
Jerry de Gryse	Landscape Architect Firm	1	M	45-55
Jo Cook	Mona Markets and Winter Feast	1	F	35-45
Joel Crosswell	Artist and Mona FoH	1	M	25-35
John Hepper	Landscape Architect Firm	1	M	45-55
John Vella	Artist and UTAS lecturer	1	M	35-45
Josh Santospirito	Music and Publishing	1	M	25-35
Kelly Cloake	Alabama Hotel	1	F	25-35
Leigh Carmichael	Dark Mofo director	3	M	35-45
Liam James	Artist, event organiser and Mona FoH	2	M	Under 25
Lindsey Wherrett	Ceramicist at Mona Markets	1	F	35-45
Lucy Bleach	Artist and UTAS lecturer	1	F	35-45
Lucy Forge	Dark Mofo	1	F	25-35
Lucy Hawthorne	UTAS lecturer, artist and Mona staff	1 (via email)	F	25-35
Magdalena Lane	DEDTA and Detached	1	F	35-45
Mark Joseph	CoH	1	M	35-45
Michael Daley	CoH	1	M	35-45
Michael Edwards	Director of CAT	1	M	45-55
Philip Holiday	CoH	1	M	45-55
Pippa Dickson	GASP	1	F	35-45
Rosemary Miller	SAC and TCIC	1	F	45-55
Theia Connell	Artist and Mona FoH	1	F	18-25
Tom O'Hern	Artist	1	M	25-35
Tony Bonney	TCI and Festival of Voices	1	M	35-45

Appendix C: Qualitative Interview Schema

The questions detailed below were approved in the initial amendment Ethics Application H0013003 (Amended to include PhD candidate, to interview key figures working in the cultural industries)
These pre-approved questions were:

1. How does your arts organisation engage with Mona
2. How many people does your organisation employ?
3. Could you talk to any changes in the creative/cultural landscape in Hobart over the past 5 years?
4.Does you organisation employ local workers?
5. Which other organisations or peak bodies does your organisation collaborate with?
6. What is your relationship with the Hobart City Council and Arts Tasmania?

Following my first research placement in the Dark Mofo office as part of research fieldwork, the below questions were subsequently approved in a further Ethics Amendment. I have broken them into sections, to reflect the multifaceted approach of the Dark Mofo festival (which covers art, music and food), as well as acknowledging how the festival operates as a distinct body from the main Mona brand. No one individual was asked to address all the questions below, but would respond to the area which best correlated with their position in the Dark Mofo office.

As is consistent with the methodology of qualitative ethnographic research, these questions evolved and became more specific based on information gathered while on placement- as well as allowing space for participants to expand on any areas they recognise as significant.

Collaborations

- How does MONA work with the city of Hobart to deliver shared events? What is the nature of this relationship??
- How was this relationship developed, and how has it evolved since the 2013 Dark MOFO festival?
- Can you give a brief overview of some of the other umbrella events the festival runs, how these have developed, and MONA's relationship with these organisations. *This section will be much more specific and targeted after the placement, in terms of which events and collaborative partners to focus the questions on.*
- The 2014 Dark MOFO Launceston was cancelled, can you talk a little about this venture and why it didn't go ahead?

- (Question for Leigh Carmichael, festival director) The festival office is in the old mercury building, can you describe your involvement in developing a Cultural Hub in the building?
- How does MONA manage non-formal collaborations? Ie the White Rabbit? Or links to the Alabama Hotel, who clearly deal with a similar clientel to MONA.
- How significance in sponsorship for the Dark MOFO festival, both in terms of economic success and brand identity?
- How closely does Dark MOFO work with the State Government, and Tourism Tasmania?
- Can you describe the feedback you received from the Winter Feast apology you issued via Social Media?
- How do you personally measure the success of events? What do you think was the most/least successful this year?
- What is the significance of the umbrella events for Mona? How do those partnerships develop, and why do you think external organisations want to be linked with Mona?

Production

- How many external organisations (eg. production companies, printers, lighting, sound) does Dark Mofo have contracts with?
- Are these skill sets available in Tasmania?

Programming

- In 2013, the Winter Feast featured all Tasmanian produce. Was this a priority for programming? How did you decide on which products to feature for 2014?
- How do you incorporate the theme of Tasmanian winter into the program design?

Marketing and PR

- Who is the target Dark Mofo audience?
- How much of the marketing is targeted towards an interstate or international audience?
- Does this emphasis change between ticketed and non-ticketed events?

Staffing

- How many people does the festival office employ?
- How many of these are full time positions?
- Do the staff have a festival background/is there evidence to suggest a growing festival economy (re direct jobs) for Tasmania?
- How many Dark Mofo office staff are from Tasmania?

Appendix D: Winter Feast Stallholders 2013 to 2015

These are recorded in the order they appear in the Dark Mofo program.

2013 Stallholders	2014 Stallholders	2015 Stallholders
Cable Station + MONA's whisky bar	Adane's Restaurant	Asahi Super Dry
Written On Tea	Hejo's	Bruny Island Cheese
The Source	Bruny Island Cheese Company	Gozleme and Kebabs
Willie Smiths	Cable Station	Chikko Café
Barista Sista	Cygneture Chocolates	Coal Valley Cider
Olli Bella	Fat Pig Farm	Pacha Mama
Tasman Quatermasters	Bottega Rotolo	Villino Speciality Coffee
Smolt	William McHenry Distillery	Lean to Kitchen
RIN	Monty's	McHenry's Distillery
Vanidols	Mountain Pepper Pizza	Gillespie's Ginger Beer
Dark Mofo Bars	Kebabs and Gozleme	Ashbolt Farm
Hejo's	RIN	Two Metre Tall
Soup Stop	Shoebox Café	Get Shucked
Adane's	Smolt	Tasmanian Whisky Producers
Gozleme + Kebabs	Soup Stop	Passion Pot
Pacha Mama	Home of the Artisan	Devils Brewery
Sea Shanti	Macarons by Ruby	Rough Rice
The Creperie	Garden of Vegan	Lady Hester
Tap and Belgrove Distillery	Saint John Craft Beers	Gennaro's
Bottega Rotolo	Elgaar Organic Dairy	Ethiopian Restaurant
Fat Pig Farm	Chikko Café	Laziko Kebabs
Captain Blighs Cider	Lady Hester	Monty's on Montpelier
Sirocco South	Tasman Quatermasters	Kinko Deli
Cygneture Chocolates	Honey Child and Sweet Macqueen	The Source Restaurant
Coffee Republic	Pacha Mama	Truckle and Co
William McHenry and Sons	Mako Fresh Fish	Rin
Urban Bounty	Bruny Island Food	Nicholls Rivulet Organic Farm
MONA	Cantina Latina	Moo Brew
Ashbolt Farm	Conscious Lifestyle	Willie Smith's Organic Cider
The Source Cellar	Wanderlust	Written on Tea
Tasmanian Whisky Producers Association	Pagan Cider	Imbibe Tasmania
Macarons by Ruby	The Creperie	Macarons by Ruby
Food 2 U	Urban Bounty	Mint
Frank's Cider	Willlie Smith Organic Cider and the Apple Shed	Captain Bligh's
Lost Pippin	Written on Tea	Annapurna
	MONA	Sirocco South
	Pies of Mother England	Urban Bounty
	Tasmanian Whisky Producers Lounge	Raspberry Fool
	Get Shucked	Saint John Craft Beer
	Two Metre Tall	Tasmanian Chilli Beer Company
	MONA Bars	MONA
	The Source Restaurant	Morrison Brewery
	Eats with Beats	The Soup Stop
	Mount Gnomon Farm	The Red Velvet Lounge
	Taco Taco	Cable Station
		Mona Cocktails

		Sailor Seeks Horse
		Mako Cooked Fresh Fish
		Hejo’s
		Barringwood Estate
		The Creperie
		Shoebox Café
		Pagan Cider
		Krumblies
		Moorilla
		Black Mountain Ice-Cream
		Lost Pippin
		Fat Pig Farm
		Frank
		Flamecake

Appendix E: Hotel Occupancy and Seasonality

As outlined in the AEC documentation for MPDC (AEC, 2015), between 2012-2014 room stock in Hobart and the Southern Tourism Region increased from 2681 to 2757 (106 rooms, or a 3.95% increase). The document suggests that

> The Hobart and Tasmanian tourism market is affected by seasonality, as highlighted by fluctuations in hotel occupancy rates…However, such seasonality trends are expected to progressively diminish given the increasing number of visitor attractions (i.e. festivals and events) that are scheduled all year round therefore bringing more visitors to Tasmania throughout the year (AEC, 2015: 56).

This acknowledgement of the Tasmania's festivals and their associated economy is significant, however is not strongly reflected in room occupancy rates. The inaugural Dark Mofo commenced in 2013, however June occupancy rates dropped in 2014, despite the growing popularity and increased attendances. This is demonstrated in Table 7.5 of the AEC market assessment (AEC, 2015: 56):

Table 7.5: Historic Accommodation Statistics

YE Jun	Rooms (No.)	Room Nights Sold (No.)	Occupancy Rate (%)	ADR ($)	RevPAR ($)
Hobart and the South Tourism Region					
2008	2,376	636,218	73.4%	$138	$102
2009	2,433	654,501	73.8%	$140	$104
2010	2,500	682,159	74.9%	$136	$102
2011	2,601	695,224	73.4%	$142	$105
2012	2,681	703,996	71.7%	$143	$104
2013	2,743	714,562	71.4%	$152	$110
2014	2,757	693,153	68.8%	$164	$114
Increase (No.)	**382**	**56,935**			
Increase (%)	**16.1%**	**8.9%**		**19.3%**	**12.0%**
Hobart SA2					
2013	1,794	508,496	77.7%	$165	$128
2014	1,778	474,507	73.2%	$183	$133

*includes hotels, resorts, motels and serviced apartments
Data for Hobart SA2 only available from YE Jun 2013. Hobart and the South TR has replaced the Hobart and Surrounds TR in 2012. As such data reported from YE Jun 2013 includes the Forestier-Tasman SA2 (which is part of the Hobart and the South TR).
Source: ABS (2014)

The document acknowledges that 'supply has increased by more than 15% since 2008, room nights occupied have increased by about 9%, thereby resulting in slightly lower room

occupancy rates across the period. However, the occupancy rates suggest relatively strong ongoing demand for visitor accommodation' (AEC, 2015: 56). This 2014 decrease is significant to note, in the context of the subsequent growth in hotel building based upon economic modelling of increasing growth over time.